

The Immaculate Conception

In these opening days of December, anxious Americans find in the gloomy headlines more than one reminder of the fateful week before Pearl Harbor (see "Crisis in Korea," p. 298 of this issue). It is good, then, to recall that December 7 is not just the anniversary of a great national tragedy. For Catholics, it is also the vigil of a great national feast—that of the Immaculate Conception. Assuredly it was more than ordinary foresight which led the First Council of Baltimore in 1846 to choose Our Blessed Lady under this title as principal patron of the lusty young American Republic. For Mary's unique freedom from original sin reminds us of that fatal flaw which all of us inherit from Adam. In the full tide of American achievement, when we took a continent by storm and made it the richest nation on the face of the earth, it was far too easy to fall into the delusion that man could find within himself the solutions to all human problems. It was a beautiful dream—man, ever growing in wisdom and strength, ever building toward the perfect society on this earth. Forty brutal years have shattered the dream. The wound in man's nature that impels him, through greed or pride or hate or fear, to turn his own knowledge to his own destruction will not be healed by merely human wisdom or human skill. In Our Immaculate Mother we see the perfect triumph of the divine grace without which we cannot be saved.

Socialists win in Bavaria

Fresh from their November 19 electoral victory in Hesse and Württemberg-Baden (AM. 12/2, p. 265) the German Social Democratic party rang up another win in the November 26 elections to the Bavarian State Legislature. The final returns for the principal parties were as follows:

| Party | Poll | Percentage |
|---------------------------|-----------|------------|
| Social Democratic | 2,586,689 | 28 |
| Christian Social Union | 2,526,780 | 27.4 |
| Bavarian (separatist) | 1,656,512 | 17.8 |
| Refugee Bloc | 1,135,759 | 12.3 |
| Free Democratic (approx.) | 650,000 | 7 |
| Communist | 178,693 | 1.9 |

The significance of this vote is that it marks the first time that the Socialists have ever outpolled every other party in Catholic Bavaria, and that their victory resulted from a campaign of opposition to the rearmament policy of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's Bonn Government. The Bavarian party is also opposed to Bonn's policy, whereas the Free Democrats support it. It is highly probable that the Refugee Bloc supports Bonn. In this case the division among the voters on the rearmament issue was about even. The Socialists showed their greatest strength in Bavaria's four largest cities. Dr. Kurt Schumacher's party has found a popular issue and exploited it even beyond its own convictions. When the Bonn Parliament meets in December, Schumacher will press for new elections on this issue. Communist aggression may by then have left Germany no choice.

CURRENT COMMENT

Korea's new Premier

Dr. John M. Chang, the first Korean Ambassador to the United States, is going back to his homeland. President Syngman Rhee has recalled him to assume the post of Premier of the Republic of Korea. To millions of televiewers the short, bespectacled Korean became a familiar figure during the first hectic days of the Korean invasion last summer, as he pleaded his country's case before the UN Security Council. Few, however, knew him for the Catholic he is. Fewer still, perhaps, knew how staunch is his Catholicism. Through the NC New Service, Dr. Chang addressed a letter of farewell to his American fellow-Catholics. The letter is an inspirational manifestation of the solidarity of Christ's Mystical Body, the Church. "It has been demonstrated to me," said Dr. Chang, "that I do not go alone to any duty; with me will go the prayers and moral support of millions of American Catholics." On Dr. Chang's own testimony he has already had ample proof of the efficacy of prayer:

When my ancient land came to its darkest hour, my first thought was to seek the prayerful help of my fellow Catholics.... The war in Korea was not one day old when I addressed an appeal to the Catholic bishops. The response was immediate and awe-inspiring.... Almost within days, the power of this intercession made itself felt. The battle was joined and at first went badly for the forces of good. But free men fought well and some gave their lives, dying not for Korea but for all right, all justice, all law.

There are still difficult days ahead for the Republic of Korea. Dr. Chang's fellow Catholics in the United States will not forget him as he attempts to guide his country through the trials which confront her.

Toward an independent Libya

The UN has finally given the *coup de grâce* to Benito Mussolini's North African Empire. On November 25, Libya emerged as a political entity in its own right when a National Constituent Assembly, composed of twenty delegates from each of three Libyan territories (Tripolitania, Cyrenaica and Fezzan) convened in Tripoli. The Assembly's first act was to send greetings to the Emir Sayid Idriss el Senussi, "expected King" of the new sovereign state. During the next few months it will go about its business of establishing a provisional government, to be set up by April 1, 1951.

In the meantime Britain and France, the present administering Powers, will turn over their authority in progressive stages until full independence has been achieved by January 1, 1952. Thus one of the knottiest of the postwar problems the UN has had to face—what to do with this Italian colony—is on the verge of solution. The question had been pushed from pillar to post ever since the Paris Peace Conference of over three years ago. Russia sought a foothold in Tripolitania. France wanted the Fezzan. Great Britain backed her pet tribe, the Senussi of Cyrenaica. The Arab states, seconded by the Asiatic bloc, demanded complete independence. In the present world ferment the latter solution was perhaps the only feasible one. Yet realism demands that certain facts be faced. It is extremely doubtful that Libya will be able to construct a truly independent and economically viable state by 1952. The country will need military protection, technical assistance and financial aid for many years. The UN experiment in North Africa may yet prove to the Arab and Asiatic worlds, ambitious to be sovereign nations, that sudden and complete independence is not always the best answer to their many problems.

Plight of Palestine refugees

The Special Committee of the UN General Assembly on November 27 unanimously voted another \$50 million for the relief and "reintegration" of the 800,000 refugees from the Palestine war of May, 1948. The results of the original UN appropriation of \$54.9 million (half subscribed by the United States) have been admittedly meager. Maj. Gen. Howard Kennedy, director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, in his official report, released on October 26, acknowledged that of 800,000 refugees only 17,500 had been employed on work projects. The rest are surviving on a dole, their distress and discontent constituting "a serious threat to the peace and stability of the Near East." The pathetic plight of these refugees is an appalling reminder of the fruit of rabid competing nationalisms—Arab and Israeli—in the land of the Prince of Peace. Israel refuses to permit the refugees to return to their homes. The Arab states refuse, so far, to accept them for resettlement. Both parties were censured in a Supplementary Report of the UN Conciliation Com-

mission, released on October 28, as responsible for the present tension in the Middle East which has a detrimental effect on "the structure of world peace."

... and Christian charity

A heartening light in the gloom of the Palestine picture has been the work of the Pontifical Mission serving the refugees. The thousand priests, brothers and sisters, shock troops of the Lord in the Holy Land He loved, were on hand from the beginning to alleviate the suffering, as their predecessors had been in weal and woe for centuries. Funds were promptly dispatched from Rome, assistance came from all parts of the Catholic world, not least from our own War Relief Services-NCWC and the National Council of Catholic Women. These voluntary and international charitable agencies, whose interest is evidence of the frequently forgotten Christian factor in the Palestine equation, were unified in April, 1949 when the Holy Father established the Pontifical Mission for Palestine and appointed as President an American, Monsignor Thomas J. McMahon. The record of the Pontifical Mission which, collaborating with the United Nations, has served 300,000 refugees (of whom hardly 50,000 are Catholics) has been published in an illustrated brochure, *The Pope and the Palestine Tragedy*. The figures are impressive. It is good to read that the Pontifical Mission supports 25,000 children in 325 schools; that it provides free medical care at 20 hospitals, 50 clinics and 48 dispensaries; that it operates 67 UNICEF milk centers; that it has undertaken 70 works projects (including a soap factory) to provide gainful employment for refugees and restore self-respect to heads of families; that it has 300 centers for distributing the clothing contributed by Catholics from all over the globe. The figures, however, are but a slight indication of the spirit of self-sacrifice of the devoted religious and volunteer workers of the Mission. Indeed the figures should rather be interpreted as a most urgent plea to Catholics to increase the aid they have so bountifully given to relieve the suffering of the Arab refugees. The American office of the Pontifical Mission for Palestine is the Catholic Near East Welfare Association. Its address is 480 Lexington Avenue, New York City.

Another Prague "trial"

There was a depressing, familiar sameness about the "trial" of nine more Catholic clerics that opened in Prague on November 27. There were the same charges—treason, espionage and spreading subversive propaganda. Translated, the charges mean that efforts were made to circumvent the regime's sacrilegious demand to make all clerical appointments, that contact was maintained with the Holy See, that the command of Christ to "render to God the things that are God's" was preached. There were the same abject "confessions" and apologies from broken defendants. The Associated Press correspondent cabled that the auxiliary bishop of Olomouc, Stanislav Zela, "admitted collaborating with the Gestapo during the Nazi occupation." It is

AMERICA—*National Catholic Weekly Review*—Edited and published by the following Jesuit Fathers of the United States:

Editor-in-Chief: ROBERT C. HARTNETT

Managing Editor: CHARLES KEENAN

Literary Editor: HAROLD C. GARDINER

Associate Editors: JOHN LAFARGE, BENJAMIN L. MASSE,
EDWARD DUFF, EDWARD A. CONWAY, DANIEL FOGARTY,
VINCENT S. KEARNEY

Contributing Editors: WILFRID PARSONS, ROBERT A. GRAHAM,
ALLAN P. FARRELL

Editorial Office: 329 W. 108th STREET, NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

Business Office: 70 EAST 45TH STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Business Manager and Treasurer: JOSEPH C. MULHERN

Circulation Manager: MR. HAROLD F. HALL

Advertising Manager: MR. THOMAS F. MURPHY

true that Bishop Zela had been arrested and repeatedly questioned unto exhaustion by the Gestapo, who were endeavoring to learn about the activities of two priests of the diocese then in London with the government-in-exile. Clearly, Communists who were former Nazis would best know about that episode. There was the same transparent determination during the trial to accumulate evidence against more important people to be used in the future. Thus, the forced "confessions" carefully involved Archbishop Josef Matocha and Archbishop Josef Beran and Pope Pius XII as "spies." Dismayingly, there was the same inability of the American press service to get the names and offices of the Catholic defendants straight. One would think that Catholics—our allies behind the Iron Curtain—belonged to an exotic, unknown Tibetan cult. Even the name of Orel, the Czech Catholic Education League with 300,000 members, founded in 1909, is misspelled. Perhaps it is not so strange. The National Committee for Free Europe, the organization supervising anti-Communist emigrés, has apparently never heard of Orel either. Nor of the special concentration camp at Uherske Hradiste in Moravia for 5,000 of its members.

U. S. labor abroad

As part of its "positive" war against communism, the CIO decided at its Chicago convention to send eight or ten envoys to Europe. These men will have the delicate and important task of communicating to foreign workers American labor's interpretation of U. S. foreign policies and aspirations. As a preliminary step, three delegates will leave shortly to make a two-month study of European labor problems, which study can serve as a guide for the larger group to follow. The CIO envoys will work closely with AFL representatives who are engaged in the same anti-Communist activity. Coming from labor, financed by it, speaking the universal language of workers, these envoys can have a decisive influence in the outcome of the "cold war" in such critical countries as Italy, France and Western Germany. The CIO is to be complimented on its initiative. It is essential to the success of the enterprise, however, that the delegates be thoroughly briefed. They should understand that the largest anti-Communist labor groups in France, Italy and Holland are Christian in inspiration, that the Christian unions of Belgium are practically the equal of the Socialist unions in influence and numbers, and that in Western Germany Catholic workers are a large part of the labor force. One wonders whether a man like Victor Reuther, for instance, who is to be a member of the three-man preliminary team, has a sympathetic enough understanding of this cardinal fact of European life. Certainly, many of the laborites who have gone abroad since the war, on public as well as on private missions, have been ill-equipped ideologically to deal with the problems they met. As a result, some important European Christian labor leaders have been antagonized. The CIO will have to proceed warily if these early blunders are not to be repeated.

Senators advise labor

Addressing 150 labor lawyers at the CIO Conference on Labor Law at Chicago on November 25, Senator Wayne Morse predicted that the Taft-Hartley Act would be revised but not repealed by the 82nd Congress. Pleading with the lawyers to be realistic about labor legislation, Senator Morse said frankly: "Labor will make a mistake, as well as management, if it takes the position that any bill which does not contain everything it wants should not be adopted." A few days earlier, the CIO convention listened without too much enthusiasm to similar advice from Senator Paul Douglas. Denouncing the Taft-Hartley Act as "iniquitous" in its total effect, the Illinois Democrat said nevertheless that some of its features would have to be retained in any new legislation. He did not think that a simple return to the Wagner Act was desirable. As essential features of any new law he mentioned protection of the rights of union members against "capricious" exercise of union authority, maintenance of open membership rolls as a condition for the closed shop, assumption by unions as well as by management of the duty to bargain collectively, and an obligation on both unions and management associations to make adequate financial statements. Though no more accustomed than management to accept advice from outsiders, organized labor would do well to hearken to this well-intentioned counsel. Senators Morse and Douglas are experts in union-management relations, and both men have a long record of sympathetic interest in the legitimate aspirations of labor. If labor leaders persist in disregarding advice of this kind, they should not be surprised if public opinion remains cool to their propaganda against the Taft-Hartley Act.

Civil-defense legislation needed

When President Truman transmitted the 162-page report on *United States Civil Defense* to Congress September 18 he hoped for "the enactment of legislation in the near future." On October 7 New York *Times* correspondent Cabell Phillips wrote from Washington:

Every effort will be made to get the post-election session of Congress to give statutory existence to a new civil-defense administration and to make an adequate appropriation for its first year.

Imagine our surprise when we did not find Federal civil-defense legislation on the list of eighteen measures the President asked the lame-duck Congress to vote on. Mr. Truman cannot be unaware of the dissatisfaction on the State and municipal levels with the Temporary Civil Defense Administration which he established under Acting Director James W. Wadsworth. Mr. Wadsworth himself admitted at the tenth State Eastern Conference on Civil Defense in September that the States were ahead of the Federal Government in civil-defense planning, and added that in some respects the Federal Government was "not equipped to go ahead at full speed." It will not be able to move much faster until legislation is enacted

which will place the national office on an operating instead of a merely advisory basis, and which will define its powers and responsibilities. Fortunately, the American Municipal Association is meeting in Washington, December 3-6. The congress of city officials will issue a challenging policy statement on national civil defense. We hope it prods the Congress into action before Christmas.

Retreats for twosomes

With typical American awe of European Catholic apostolic ingenuity, we read last June about a closed week-end retreat for engaged couples held at the Greysott Cenacle in England. We had been missing, it appears, instances of American Catholic interest in sanctifying married life. For three years the Catholic Women's Retreat League of the Archdiocese of Dubuque has sponsored an annual retreat for married and engaged couples at Riverview Park, Cedar Falls, Iowa. Last month the Boston *Pilot* printed a group picture of the married couples who had made a closed retreat at "Miramar," a house of the Fathers of the Society of the Divine Word at Island Creek, Massachusetts. The Cana Sodality of Our Lady (109 Willoughby St., Brooklyn 1, N. Y.) forwards its schedule of coming weekend retreats — for married couples only — to be held at St. Joseph's Retreat House, Middletown, N. Y. Conception Abbey, not far from St. Joseph, Missouri, has constructed cottages for the use of families who want to make religious retreats together under the direction of the Benedictine Fathers. Indeed, Joseph D. Murphy, dean of the School of Architecture of St. Louis' Washington University, has drawn sketches for an ideal family retreat house which he describes in the November issue of *Action Now*, the magazine for adult sodalists. Americans clearly need yield nothing to Europe in apostolic efforts to spread the realization of the spiritual resources of marriage as a way of life.

Catholic adult education

In the course of rephrasing his familiar but still trenchant indictment of American education for the fall issue of the quarterly magazine, *Measure*, Chancellor Robert M. Hutchins of the University of Chicago observes:

Such subjects as economics, ethics, politics, history and literature may be studied by young people but they cannot be comprehended by them . . . because the full lessons of these disciplines can be grasped only in maturity. The tragedy in this country is that these subjects are studied in youth and never studied again. . . . Yet these are the subjects which in the present crisis the democratic citizen most urgently needs to understand.

Dr. Hutchins is not arguing the case for adult education programs (the title of his article is "The Idea of a College"), but his observation serves to highlight the importance and significance of programs like that

of the Institute of Social Education of St. John College, of Cleveland. The convenience of its location in Cathedral Square does not alone explain why 650 people are enrolled this current semester. The spread and seriousness of the nineteen courses, treating crucial modern problems of civic and Catholic concern, is the more likely explanation. There is today a genuine desire for self-improvement, for sheer learning, which the brisk sale of books on popular psychology and even the digest magazines in their feeble fashion attest. There is a curiosity about the Catholic analysis of contemporary problems, whether of family living or industrial relations or international affairs, as the enrollment at the Institute of Social Education makes clear. The greater number of those attending the evening sessions received their education in secular schools, the director, Rev. Francis W. Carney, explains. Father Carney says hopefully in the Institute's current *Bulletin*: "In developing our program here, it has always been our fond hope that the idea of adult education would ultimately settle itself on the parish level." He probably has in mind something like the "Parish night schools," described by Rev. John P. Monaghan in this Review some years ago (AM. 9/15/45).

Snowbound in Cleveland

The Mayor of Cleveland, where one of our editors was snowbound, urged everybody to stay by the hearthfire during the icy snowstorm that blanketed Ohio and the Appalachians on November 24-27. No taxis, buses or private cars were running. Walking was at your peril. You could spend the time in your downtown hotel room listening to the stream of announcements broadcast day and night from the city radio. Or you could meditate. Many surprises overtook Clevelanders. One citizen went to sleep on a front porch and was mistaken for a corpse by a cruising Army tank. Seeing the muzzle of a cannon facing his newly awakened eyes, the corpse screamed and fled. City pastors were agreeably surprised at the 83-per-cent of normal attendance at Sunday Masses. Even Cupid lifted an eyebrow when a young couple trudged a day late through the drifts to their wedding at St. Mary's Catholic Church, garbed in dungarees and high boots. Yet most surprising of all, on reflection, was the fact that we wait for such emergencies to mobilize the great cooperative and charitable resources of our American communities. When you heard the tired voice of a city broadcaster giving the addresses of housewives who were offering an extra quart of milk or an extra supply of baby formula, or directing volunteer truck-drivers to the addresses of mothers in dire need, when you saw students running a hospital laundry, you realized how much more we could do to help each other than we actually do when things are running smoothly. We'd better step up our community cooperation if we are going to be ready for the emergencies of war.

WASHINGTON FRONT

Headlines-of-the-week in Washington:

LAME DUCK SESSION WILL
MOSTLY HATCH GOOSE EGGS
Washington Post (Indep.)

G.O.P. UNITY IN CONGRESS
HINGES ON FOREIGN POLICY
Washington Star (Rep.)

Those of us who go to football games, even in blizzards and hurricanes, see large squads come out to warm up, kick booming punts, make dazzling returns, throw dozens of passes and make even more dazzling catches, and then dash back into the dressing-room.

It seems to this observer that this analogy may very well apply to the recessed second session of the 81st Congress, which reconvened on November 27. The prospect is for lots of running about, much rehearsing of signals, a lot of almost meaningless shouting—and the score at the end will be what it always is before the real game begins: 0-0. The real game will begin in January, when the 82nd Congress convenes. Thus will one of the above headlines be justified.

Not that there isn't a lot to do. Extension of rent controls, raising of revenue through excess-profits or higher corporation taxes, aid to Yugoslavia, amendment of the McCarran Act, more defense appropriations, Hawaiian and Alaskan Statehood, and some smaller measures—these are on the Administration's agenda. The Republicans also have some items, the first of which seems to be the ousting of Secretary Acheson, followed by a new investigation of the State Department and a searching "re-examination" of foreign policy.

At this point, it looks as if this dying (or "lame-duck") session may be mostly remarkable for something that will not happen on the floors of Congress, but more or less behind the scenes, within the Republican party, on the foreign-policy issue. Thus will the second of the above headlines come true.

The Republicans fall roughly into three classes as regards foreign policy: the bipartisans (led by Senators Lodge and Vandenberg); the critical but fairly cooperative (led by Senator Taft); and the isolationists (led by Senators Wherry, Jenner and Malone). Of these the largest group would seem to be Taft's, which on given issues, however, tends to split fairly evenly between the first and third groups.

It is ironical, but highly probable, that the whole future of the United States may depend on what the Republicans in the 81st Congress decide to do on foreign policy in the 82nd. The President will have lost the initiative on domestic policies, and perhaps on foreign policy too. His big problem is whether to let Mr. Acheson go and, if so, whom to find for his place. It is not an enviable position. WILFRID PARSONS

UNDERSCORINGS

Two days after John Crosby, the New York *Herald Tribune*'s radio and television commentator, had loosed a broadside at educators who fail to realize the educational potentialities of television, the alumni bulletin of Loyola University of Chicago came to hand, containing an account of televised operations performed by doctors from Loyola's Stritch School of Medicine. The occasion was the second annual televised postgraduate conference on obstetrics and gynecology. To enable the hundreds of physicians at the Lewis Memorial Maternity Hospital, Chicago, to observe the obstetrical procedure of world-famous doctors, Dr. Herbert E. Schmitz, chairman of the department of obstetrics at the Stritch School and director of the conference, telecast the operations over a closed circuit to fifteen receiving sets in the hospital.

► Rt. Rev. Msgr. John P. Boland, pastor of St. Thomas Aquinas Church, Buffalo, N. Y., widely known for his many years of work in the labor-relations field, has been chosen first president of the recently formed Industry Council Association, Inc., a nonprofit and non-denominational organization which aims to promote knowledge of the papal social encyclicals and to advocate the formation of industry councils.

► The Cana Conference of Chicago (7315 South Yale Ave., Chicago 21) is holding its second Study Week for priests, December 27-29, at the St. Clair Hotel, 162 E. Ohio St., Chicago. The first Study Week, in June, 1949, drew 80 priests from 55 cities and 20 States. Its proceedings were subsequently published as a book, *The Cana Conference* (\$2).

► An annual award will be established by the Religious Newswriters Association in honor of the late James O. Supple, religion editor of the Chicago *Sun-Times*, who was killed in a plane crash last July 27, when on his way to cover the Korean war for his paper (AM. 8/12, p. 484). Mr. Supple, a Catholic, was very active in interracial and other social work and in the promotion of the Catholic press.

► The Sacred Heart Retreat House, Auriesville, N. Y., reports that during its 1950 "season" (May to November) 19 retreats for priests were given. The number of retreatants was 198, representing 37 archdioceses and dioceses and 14 religious orders and congregations.

► Rev. Francis L. Meade, C.M., president of Niagara University, Niagara Falls, N. Y., was elected president of the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools at the Association's Atlantic City meeting, November 24. Fr. Meade is the first Catholic to hold this office.

► Add to the list of cities where the local Chamber of Commerce is cooperating with religious groups "to bring Christ back to Christmas": Rockford, Ill., and Durant, Okla. C. K.

Crisis in Korea

All during the week, as one dismal dispatch from Korea followed another, the feeling of crisis deepened in Washington. The members of the National Security Council were tight-lipped as they gravely left an emergency meeting at the White House. On the floor of the House were heard angry demands that General MacArthur use the atomic bomb against the 200,000 Chinese Reds swarming over the frozen roads of North Korea. In the Senate the voice of Wyoming's O'Mahoney was calling for an ultimatum to Moscow. As happened on another equally grim day—the day the Japanese crippled the American fleet at Pearl Harbor—the fires of partisan political rivalry quickly died. Senator Kenneth S. Wherry, the GOP floor leader, set the tone. "There is no room for partisan politics," he said, "in this critical international situation that now confronts all of us. To President Truman I say: As Americans, let's pull together for guidance as God gives us the light."

There was no doubt that the United States needed light—and strength and courage and consummate prudence—for the ordeal that lay ahead. The intervention of the Chinese Reds in Korea, in numbers that apparently surprised the UN Command, changed almost overnight an offensive to end the war into something approaching a major military disaster. Striking hard at the center of the UN line in Northwest Korea, the Reds smashed two Korean divisions and threatened to envelop our entire left flank, including the gallant U.S. Twenty-Fourth Division. The situation was officially described as "fluid," an ominous word that occurred frequently in communiqués last summer when the UN forces were retreating to the Pusan beachhead. At midweek the critical military question was: could the UN forces establish a line across the narrow waist of Korea, running from a point somewhat north of Pyongyang in the West to Wonsan on the East Coast? A spokesman in the Pentagon thought that the chances were good.

At Lake Success, and in all the capitals of the world, a still more critical question was being raised. Did the Red Chinese aggression against the UN forces in Korea mark the start of World War III? Would the United States, which on November 28 formally accused Red China of aggression before the UN Security Council, agree to withdraw its forces from Korea, as the Russians and Chinese Reds demand; or would it accept the implications of what General MacArthur, in a dispatch to the UN, called the "new war"? Would we, in other words, accept a diplomatic defeat, and permit international blackmail and brutal aggression to be temporarily triumphant; or would we take the dread alternative of an all-out war with Red China? Either way, the Soviet Union stood to gain.

There were signs that the ultimate decision would not be ours; that we would bow to the collective wisdom of the UN. Any other policy would risk destroying the unity of the nations standing with us against Soviet imperialism. Since the rending of that unity

EDITORIALS

would be the ultimate triumph of the reckless, Hitlerite policy which the Kremlin has pursued since the end of World War II, we may decide to avoid it at all costs, including the cost of a humiliating, though honorable, diplomatic defeat.

It's up to the UN

The farce being played out at Lake Success these days can be marked down as one more triumph of Soviet propaganda. While reports were reaching the United States that an all-out Chinese Communist attack had broken up General MacArthur's offensive designed to end the Korean War, Wu Hsui-chuan and Company, the Red Chinese mission invited to the UN, were grinning appreciatively at Andrei Y. Vishinsky's attempts at humor. The UN has been maneuvered—there is no other word for it—into holding a full-scale debate, not on its own charges of aggression but rather on Communist charges against the United States.

If the situation in the UN is fantastic, in great measure it is due to the willingness of the United States to lay open its action to the scrutiny of the world. Last August, when Jacob A. Malik, Soviet delegate to the UN, misrepresented the United States action in neutralizing the island of Formosa, Warren R. Austin, the American delegate, agreed to a discussion of the question by the UN. Taking advantage of the American attitude, Malik subsequently succeeded, on October 6, in pushing through an invitation to Red China to attend Security Council meetings while the Formosa question was being discussed.

That the open-minded attitude of the United States has been perverted, however, is the fault of both the Security Council and the General Assembly. Not only did the latter's Political Committee pass the Soviet resolution to debate charges of aggression against the United States, but it also rejected every attempt to amend the proposal. As the original Soviet-sponsored Chinese Communist complaint read, it was a prejudgment of their case in their own favor. The United States was cast in the role of a defendant at the bar. From the beginning, the UN has leaned over backward where Red China has been concerned.

On November 8, two days after General MacArthur had reported the presence of Chinese Communist divisions in Korea, the Security Council issued a second "invitation" to the Peiping regime to come to Lake Success and explain. In a rude reply, Chou En-lai, Red Chinese Foreign Minister, rejected the invitation. A delegation would appear but only to press charges

against the United States. Thus the UN made its second blunder. Instead of rejecting the Chinese delegates, unless they agreed to answer the UN charges of aggression in Korea, it has permitted them to take seats at the Council table as accusers.

Both the Security Council and the General Assembly would undoubtedly argue that the Chinese intervention in Korea has created a new situation which must be handled with the utmost tact and diplomacy. Thus, in preparing the agenda for its November 27 meeting, the Security Council placed the Red Chinese complaint against the United States side by side with the UN complaint against China as component parts of the same item. The strategy was an attempt to kill two birds with one stone—air the Formosa question and at the same time force the Chinese Reds to answer for their actions in Korea. The strategy failed. Wu Hsui-chuan's first speech on November 29 made it clear that he had come to Lake Success for one purpose—to accuse the United States. Red China had no intention of withdrawing her troops from Korea merely on UN demand.

As we go to press, indications are that a six-Power resolution, demanding withdrawal of Chinese Communist troops and held in readiness for a Security Council vote, will be blocked by a Soviet veto. Sooner or later, and the sooner the better, the General Assembly will be faced with the necessity of making another decision like that of October 7 instructing General MacArthur to cross the Thirty-Eighth Parallel.

Either the UN Command must be allowed to bomb out the military and industrial potential of Manchuria, or its troops must be ordered to retreat. Soldiers cannot be expected to face indefinitely an enemy supplied endlessly from behind an inviolable border. Appeasement has failed. Only a stern warning backed by immediate action can save the situation in Korea.

Aid to Yugoslavia

With President Truman's statement, "Yugoslavia is a nation whose strategic location makes it of direct importance to the defense of the North Atlantic area," few Americans will disagree. The President's observation was made on November 24 in the course of formally notifying the chairmen of the respective Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees of Congress that he had allocated \$16 million to provide food for Tito's army. Coming on top of grants from ECA and the Export Import Bank, the amount boosted to \$33 million the stop-gap aid we have given the Marshal. Yugoslavia, meanwhile, is awaiting congressional consideration of the \$105-million loan it requested last month.

Americans understand the need of keeping the muzzles of Europe's largest standing army pointed resolutely at the Soviet aggressors. We are aiding Tito for one reason only: a strong Yugoslavia stands in the way of a Soviet attack on Western Europe.

About another and earlier statement of the President, Americans will have some questions to ask. Urg-

ing speedy action in the reconvened Congress, the President telegraphed key committee heads on November 17: "The prospects are that if remedial measures are not begun immediately, Tito's ability to control subversive elements in Yugoslavia will be seriously, if not fatally, undermined." "Subversive elements," in Tito's definition, include his democratic opponents. We must not allow American support to be used to strengthen oppression—thus alienating further our true friends in the Balkans.

The fear that increased American aid will saddle the tyrant Tito more firmly on the necks of the suffering people of Yugoslavia was not lessened by an observation of Senator Tom Connally, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. Asked at a press conference on November 27 whether Congress would try to "attach strings" to aid to Tito, the Senator replied: "Well, we can't ask commitments from people as to what they are going to do with the food we give them."

Why not? Food is a weapon. Our economic aid to Yugoslavia—like our recent authorization of \$62 million in loans for Spain's economic rehabilitation—has a political purpose. Any effective resistance by Yugoslavia to Soviet aggression, we must always keep in mind, depends ultimately on the morale of her people. Why can't we see to it that the people of Yugoslavia are told plainly that it is their much-abused friends in the United States who are succoring them? Every shipment should be clearly labeled as coming to the people of Yugoslavia from the people of the United States. Indeed we might well require the Yugoslav press (government-controlled) to publish a statement, formulated by the State Department, explaining that our economic assistance is being given to strengthen the Yugoslav people in their resistance to Soviet imperialism. We might demand, too, that American officials directly supervise the distribution of food paid for by American taxpayers.

After World War II we had the unhappy experience of seeing the food distributed by UNRRA (and paid for largely by American money) used to strengthen the power of Eastern European Communist administrators hostile to America. Do we propose to allow our food to be used by Tito's party hacks for their aggrandizement? While the drought in Yugoslavia has ruined many of the country's crops, it is also true that Tito's regimentation of the peasants has occasioned livestock slaughtering and a lowered food output in a normally food-exporting country. The break with the Cominform has hastened this hectic drive to collectivize the small farmer. Tito, you see, is eager to prove he is a better Communist than Stalin.

The economic expropriations, the secret-police methods of political terrorism and the grinding and relentless persecution of religion will doubtless continue in Titoland despite all our protests. Now, however, we have the opportunity, in this hour of Yugoslavia's desperate need and Western Europe's peril, to get word to those suffering under Tito that they have friends in America. Food is the weapon to pierce Josip Broz's brass curtain.

Right of asylum

On January 4, 1949 Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre, a Peruvian political leader, took refuge in the Colombian Embassy in Lima, Peru. The Peruvian authorities claimed that he was a *criminal* and demanded that Colombia give him up. Colombia asserted that it had the right to decide, against the Peruvian authorities, that he was a *political refugee*, and asked the Peruvian Government to give him a safe-conduct to Colombia. Since neither side would yield, Colombia carried the case to the International Court of Justice at the Hague. On November 20 the Court decided that Colombia's claim to such a "right of asylum" was invalid and that it was in contravention of existing Latin-American treaties.

The Court rejected Colombia's contention that the long-standing practice of Latin-American states amounted to recognition of the right of the state granting asylum to decide unilaterally the status of a fugitive. The Court took the position that acquiescence by one state in the granting of asylum by another was mostly a matter of convenience or expediency, not the recognition of a right. And indeed, in the usual case of asylum the fugitive flees beyond the borders of his native state; so there is not much that the latter can do about it, even though it may feel the other state is acting unjustifiably. In the present case, however, de la Torre was actually within the boundaries of Peru, in the Colombian Embassy at Lima. Colombia's claim, therefore, was that by exercising the right of asylum it could withdraw de la Torre from the jurisdiction of Peru during a transit from Lima to the territory of Colombia. This claim was rejected by the International Court.

The Hague Court's decision, if rigorously interpreted, could have serious repercussions in our own country. In the United States there are many people from the Iron Curtain countries whom we have admitted as political refugees. Their own governments classify them as criminals—mainly on grounds that no free government can recognize as valid. Must we conclude that, in international law as interpreted by the Court, our action is illegal? On the other hand, if the Colombian claim were admitted, it would seem to follow that an American taking refuge in the Soviet Embassy in Washington could be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the U. S. Government through asylum granted by the Soviet Government.

In the article, "Asylum, Right of," the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th Edition) says that "it is a right less and less insisted on with the progress of civilization." Civilization seems to have progressed backwards since those optimistic words were written. The right of asylum is something very much to be insisted on these days; and we do not feel that the International Court of Justice has said the last word about it.

Granted that, as the Hague Court pointed out, the right of asylum is a derogation of the sovereignty of a state and an impairment of its jurisdiction, yet most

states would claim the right to grant asylum when they think it necessary. In our troubled times we cannot afford to shut the door in the faces of men seeking refuge from the tyranny and slavery that prevail in totalitarian lands.

Scandal in cotton

In the course of the week ending November 26, the price of December-delivered cotton at one time soared to 44.14 cents a pound. That was the highest price recorded on the New York Cotton Exchange in its entire eighty-year history. Behind this fantastic spurt in cotton prices lies a story of political power in the service of greed which must make very ugly reading on the frozen North Korean battle front. In its hard-boiled staccato style, *Business Week* reported the main facts about the unprecedented rise in cotton prices in its issue of November 18:

The cotton bloc hasn't lost its lobbying potency. That's the story behind the latest boost in the export quota for cotton.

First, 2 million bales were allocated for shipment in the nine months ending next March 31. Then the Department of Agriculture discovered it had an extra 146,000 bales on hand, so Secretary Brannan tossed them in.

But that didn't satisfy the cotton boys. They twisted Brannan's arm until he added 1,350,000 bales more.

As a result of increasing the export quota, and of decreasing the domestic supply, speculators were able to drive the price of cotton to an historic high. On November 21, the *New York Times* reported that Southern Congressmen had been appeased by the astronomical jump in cotton prices and appeared willing to drop their demands for an investigation of Secretary of Agriculture Brannan's cotton program. One Congressman told the *Times*' reporter:

The Administration now realizes it's got to have the votes of cotton-State Senators and Congressmen—that's about all that's left of the Democratic party after the last election.

In other words, the cotton Congressmen had bludgeoned the Secretary of Agriculture into reversing a decision which had been made in the public interest. Their action has had the effect of adding fuel to the fires of inflation and may yet result in a cotton shortage that could affect the armed services at this most critical of all times.

Recently, voices have been raised criticizing the British for permitting the price of tin and rubber to go through the roof. Now that Congress has returned to Washington, we can look for a swelling of the anti-British chorus. No doubt British businessmen have seized on the Korean War as a heaven-sent opportunity to make some fast money. They deserve to be criticized. In common decency, however, with our recent experience in cotton as background, we ought to leave the criticism to others.

Puerto Rico: Operation Bootstrap

Paul P. Harbrecht

Prominent as Puerto Rico has been in the news recently, too few of our citizens know much about the economic and political realities in that important island. The facts presented by Mr. Paul P. Harbrecht, S.J. (LL.B. from Georgetown U., now working for his doctorate in law at Columbia U.), have been checked with authorities in Puerto Rico.

ON WEDNESDAY, November 1, the average American citizen remembered a name which probably hadn't crossed his mind since the days of his civics and geography textbooks. That day, and the day before, the name of Puerto Rico suddenly leaped into newspaper headlines and radio bulletins, displacing the news of coming elections and the Korean war. On November 1, President Truman's life had been attempted; on October 31, there had been an uprising in Puerto Rico. Both events were the news of a day and quickly over, to be forgotten by the average American.

But the Puerto Ricans should not be forgotten by Americans. Certainly they will not be forgotten by the people of New York City, for tens of thousands of Puerto Ricans are moving in there every year. Ten years ago there were an estimated 70,000 Puerto Ricans in New York. Now the figure is put near 350,000, more than there are in San Juan, the capital of Puerto Rico. Yet it would be a mistake to think of Puerto Rico in terms of a population problem or a hotbed of revolution, for the uprising that took place on October 31 was something unique in the history of Puerto Rico.

Poor as it may be in other things, Puerto Rico has a history worth boasting about. Puerto Rico was discovered by Columbus in 1493, and fifteen years later Ponce de Leon founded San Juan, the oldest city under the American flag. In the old San Juan Cathedral lie the remains of the first Christian bishop to set foot in the New World. The four centuries that followed under Spanish rule were a time of slow development and hard-won liberties, culminating in autonomous government for Puerto Rico and representation in the Congress of Delegates in Spain. The year after this achievement, at the end of the Spanish-American War, Puerto Rico was ceded to the United States. Possession by the United States, which came in 1898 with the Treaty of Paris, was not a step backward for Puerto Rico, but it did mean a job of rebuilding political independence.

The first step in rebuilding was the Foraker Act of 1900, which continued in full force the laws of Puerto Rico in so far as they were consistent with the Constitution of the United States. The Organic Act, passed by Congress in 1917, made Puerto Ricans U. S. citizens and gave them the constitution they have been living under until the present day.

However, under this regime the practice of having their Governor and top officials appointed by the President of the United States was always galling to the Puerto Ricans, especially since any law of the Puerto

Rican legislature can be vetoed by the Governor or by the President or Congress. Another example of friction was the insistence of the American-appointed Commissioner of Education on teaching the entire curriculum in Puerto Rican Schools in English, when the children for the most part knew only Spanish.

Most of these latter difficulties were solved in 1947, when an amendment of the Organic Act allowed the Puerto Ricans to elect their own Governor, who could appoint his own officials. Now only the Auditor and the Supreme Court judges are Presidential appointees. The larger difficulty of self-rule is also in process of solution. Last July 3 President Truman signed an act providing for a referendum by which the Puerto Ricans could decide whether or not they wanted to make their own constitution. The referendum is to be held next June, but the registration was held on November 4. It appears that the Nationalist coup was timed for November 3, perhaps as a sensational display of what the party stood for. For some unknown reason the display came off earlier than planned.

STRENGTH OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Yet it would be a mistake to think that this abortive revolution was in any sense an indication of the suppressed desires of the Puerto Rican people. All evidence is to the contrary. First, the Nationalist party, organized by Albizu Campos in 1928, numbers only 1,500 now. Second, in the 1948 Puerto Rican elections, candidates for Governor and Resident Commissioner proposed by the Popular Democratic party polled 392,000 votes; the candidates for the combined Statehood and Socialist parties polled 180,000 votes; and the candidate for the Independentist party got 66,000 votes. The Popular party stands for a continuance of the present type of Federal control under a Puerto Rican constitution. What the other parties stand for is pretty clearly indicated by their names; so it can be seen that an overwhelming majority of Puerto Ricans favor union with the United States.

More than sixty per cent of the people favor the kind of constitution proposed by Governor Muñoz. Under this plan, if the Puerto Ricans favor the making of their own constitution, the island will continue as it is within the federation of the United States, having no vote in the Federal elections, with a voice through a Resident Commissioner, but no vote, in Congress. The important difference will be that Puerto Rico will be living under a local government shaped and organized and directed by the people of Puerto Rico, as democratically organized as any State in our Union.

There are good reasons why this middle course between statehood and independence is best for Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico is poor, almost without mineral resources, and subsisting on a primarily agricultural economy. In this economic environment, on an island 100 miles long and 35 miles wide, live over 2,200,000 people—a population density of about 640 per square mile (14 times that of the United States). This will give some idea of Puerto Rico's economic problem. To help Puerto Rico meet this problem our Federal Government has given Puerto Rico a tax holiday, and such excise taxes as Puerto Rican shippers do pay are turned over to the Puerto Rican treasury to be used in the local government's program for economic development. This sum accounts for 53 per cent of government revenues. With statehood, Puerto Rico would have to assume the full burdens of Federal income and corporate taxation, too great a load for the island's struggling economy. Independence would be a still worse alternative, for it would place Puerto Rico outside the U. S. tariff wall. Puerto Rico would then have to begin paying the tariff rates imposed on foreign imports by the nation with which it does over 90 per cent of its export trade—the United States.

Puerto Rico's political future is so closely tied to its economic status that any forward political step its people take must be based on a corresponding economic advance. Furthermore, the Puerto Rican economy is tied to the United States. Puerto Rico is the sixth largest purchaser of United States goods in all Latin America and, allowing for its size as measured by population, is a better customer than any of the other Latin-American countries. Puerto Rico ranked first in the dollar volume of goods purchased between 1933 and 1936, when the United States needed export trade. Now 91 per cent of Puerto Rico's foreign purchases are made from the United States.

However good this situation may be for the United States, it has not proved to be an unmixed blessing for Puerto Rico. With an economy primarily agricultural and specialization in a few export crops, mainly sugar, Puerto Rico has had to buy from the expensive U. S. market nearly all of its manufactured goods and the bulk of its food supply. With the overflow of population it has, and with little arable land, Puerto Rico's hope lies in industrialization.

Yet, in spite of the fact that sugar-cane cultivation is and probably will continue to be the foundation of Puerto Rico's economy, the United States has pursued a damaging colonial policy in this matter. Though the estimated productivity of Puerto Rico's sugar fields is upwards of 1.2 million tons per year, Congress has seen fit to place at 910,000 tons per year the amount of raw sugar that Puerto Rico can sell in the United States. More damaging and drastic in its effects on the Puerto Rican economy is the limit of 126 thousand tons of sugar which Puerto Rico can export to us in

refined form. Thus the United States has cut off one of the most immediate and profitable roads to industrial expansion which Puerto Rico can take. This policy has been described as the last important example of colonialism in U. S.-Puerto Rican relations.

Puerto Rico's tremendous economic problems are sorely aggravated by its population problem. With the highest birth rate in the world, Puerto Rico has more than doubled its population since 1900, and it is estimated that by 1960 its people will number three million. Birth control is the solution that will leap into the minds of some, but, as one newspaper writer put it: "Its Roman Catholic tradition rules out birth control on a widespread scale." Governor Luis Muñoz put it more strongly when he said: "We do not intend to plow our children under." Euthanasiasts will find no warm welcome in Puerto Rico, for Jaime Benítez, Chancellor of the University of Puerto Rico, in answer to criticism that research at his University was lowering the death rate, remarked: "This type of complication suits us perfectly well. Population drawbacks rest—in our opinion—not with the number of healthy and able, but with the number of sick, the destitute and the untrained."

Some may term statements like these airy idealism on the part of Puerto Rican leaders, but they are not.

An examination of these leaders' policies in the face of overwhelming problems shows that they are dynamic and hard-headed realists. The lot of the poorer classes has been advanced through greater investment in health and education. The health budget, \$2.5 million in 1941, advanced to \$12.5 million in 1946, and has since gone higher. The education budget, \$7 million in 1941, had advanced to \$30 million in 1947, the insular government spending 40 per cent of its budget, the largest single item, on education. True, 300,000 children in Puerto Rico have no school to go to, but the number attending school has been increased from 34,000 in 1900 to 460,000 in 1947.

In the fields of industrial relations and economic development, notable advance has also been made. Effective laws and agencies provide for minimum wages, maximum hours and standards of safety. Water and electric power have been provided in great abundance, and insular productivity has been stepped up generally. The Puerto Rican Government has established industrial and agricultural development companies to lead the way for the investment of private capital. Land reforms have been successfully carried out and governmental efficiency has been increased along the lines of our own Hoover plan.

A careful look at Puerto Rico dispels any illusions we may have about "languid Latins." Its development program, aptly termed by the Puerto Ricans "Operation Bootstrap," is an example of one of the most courageous and energetic solutions to economic problems. Continental Americans can well afford to look with pride upon this advance outpost of United States



democracy in the Latin-American world. The armed outbreak of early November was really the result of race prejudice felt by Albizu Compos in World War I.

But the general picture is good, for while Puerto Rico is still deep in economic problems, its political

position is in advance of that of other U. S. territories. Furthermore, its progress in the past, and the energy and vision of its present leaders, give good promise that Puerto Rico will one day realize the highest ideals of the American way of life.

Hollywood over Asia

Richard L-G. Deverall

SOME MONTHS AGO, I was in an Asiatic country friendly to the United States. Chatting with some officials of the Government, educated and intelligent men, I discussed with them the problems of workers in the United States, mentioning in passing the housing problem, the existence of slum areas in many major cities, and the problem of working-class health in some areas of our country. The senior official smiled, and said: "Now really, Mr. Deverall, you don't expect us to believe that there is truly any poverty in your country."

Taken somewhat aback, I assured him that, despite the high standard of living in the United States, we nevertheless did have very real problems afflicting tens of millions of people.

The senior official chuckled, and remarked: "Well, you may have your opinions. But I know how conditions are in America. *After all, we see all of your movies in this country!*"

This was not the first time I had heard this remark. A few years previously, in Japan's northernmost island of Hokkaido, I had heard a lecture by a venerable Japanese professor on the culture of the American people. It was the most fantastic lecture I had ever heard. With colorful examples, the professor told his spellbound Japanese student audience about the American gangsters and how they cruised the streets in high-powered cars, shooting down rivals with sub-machine guns. He later described family life in the United States as heavily charged with whiskey and cocktails, remarked that American husbands and wives divorced so frequently that many marriages lasted only a few weeks. It was a really grim picture, a terrible distortion of the daily life of the American people. One had the impression that guns, dollars and sex represented the sum total of our American culture and ideals.

After the lecture, I chatted with the professor. "My dear *sensei* (learned teacher)," I said, "what you have told these good people and what exists in my country have little in common. Where did you ever see such things?" Drawing himself up, the little professor said with utter conviction: "I am very sorry, but I have seen every American movie since the Occupation came to Japan. I am, I assure you, an expert on the American culture!"

Richard Deverall has had wide opportunity to know what Asiatics think of us—and why. After World War II he was for three years Chief of Labor Education on the staff of General MacArthur in Tokyo. During the past year he served the AFL as its representative in India.

Again, in India, I had just finished a lecture on the condition of workers in the United States to a student audience in a large university. The first question concerned the condition of the Negro. Although I explained the decrease in discrimination and the improving economic, social and vocational position of the Negro in America, the students clearly didn't believe a word I said. The second question was about the American Red Indian. Said one student: "Is it not true that you white Americans are daily slaughtering the Red Indian?" That one just about completely bowled me over.

Later, discussing the deep concern of the Indian student over the Negro and Red Indian problem, a sympathetic professor said bluntly: "After all, old fellow, these students are great cinema addicts. In your movies from Hollywood they invariably notice that the white man is a rich master upon whom waits a humble Negro. Anyone who views your cinema over a period of years can draw no other conclusion but that the Negro in America is a depressed class, an untouchable, you know. And those Westerns that come from America—for every white man killed, at least ten Red Indians are slaughtered. *How can our people believe otherwise? To them the cinema is a portrayal of life in the United States. They have no other portrayal of American life to judge by.*"

Five years of travel and observation in the Orient have clearly shown me that Hollywood movies, by and large, are indeed giving to Asia a distorted and fantastic picture of America. Good movies there are, but the bulk of the pictures portray a loose-living, divorcing, drunken, anti-Negro, anti-Red Indian, materialistic, gun-toting people whose lives are a mad whirl of wine, women and gunplay.

This would be bad enough, but when you set the Hollywood run-of-the-mill movie against the background of Soviet propaganda in an Asia that is home-loving and deeply religious, the picture is positively shocking.

Such Soviet publications as the *USSR in Construction* or *Sovietland* picture a Soviet Union that is concerned with the health and welfare of babies, with the sanctity of the home, with a hatred for birth-control. In Asia this last is associated with "moribund Anglo-Saxon materialism." Russians decry the gang-

sterism of Chicago, and hold up the picture of peaceful Soviet youth who attend lectures on culture and see movies depicting the lives of Beethoven and the great artists of the world.

Strange as it may seem, the defender of religion and culture, the advocate of morality and good family living, the vanguard of the spiritual life in Asia is the Soviet Union! Of course, the intellectual Communist who reads his *Bolshevik* or the *Moscow Problems of Economics* knows that the Soviet Union and its ideology "liberate" men from the "shackles" of religion; but few Asians have the time or the vocabulary to plow through the lengthy theoretical journals of world communism. In the popular Soviet publications that reach every nook and cranny of Asia, the Soviet propagandists cleverly use American source material to prove their point. And the drums beat day and night: "Don't believe us. See the Hollywood movies. See the American in his native habitat of drunkenness, materialism and gross sensual pleasure!"

The picture is indeed an ugly one. And the conclusion one must draw is that, with some noteworthy exceptions, the main contribution of Hollywood in the Orient is to exacerbate tensions between the United States and Asia, and to give Asia a distorted and perverted picture of the American scene.

Asia is, of course, extremely race-conscious, particularly since many of the Asiatic countries have only recently emerged from the domination of white European Powers. In many of these countries the domineering white sahib has gone, or has modified his formerly arrogant behavior, but day in and day out these newly liberated peoples see the American movie. The hatred for the former colonial master is thus neatly transferred to the white Americans.

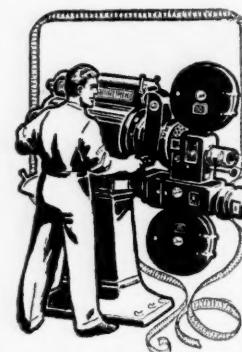
Asia is, by and large, religious. Religion is part and parcel of its life and its ancient culture. When you see the Muslims of Pakistan fasting for a month, when you observe the rites of the Buddhists in Ceylon and Burma, when you observe the deep devotion of the Parsees and the Hindus in India, you can appreciate why the brash, dollar-flashing, cocktail-drinking American pictured by Hollywood appears as the enemy of the religious life and the very incarnation of Mammon.

Asia is, by and large, a peasant country. In lands such as India, where poverty is epidemic, Hollywood rouses deep jealousy by giving the impression that every American lives in a twenty-room house, has several servants, drives two cars and sends his children to college with hundred-dollar bills in their pockets.

We, of course, know that Hollywood presents a very peculiar picture of American life. Seldom do the movies picture the life and labors of the typical American worker, of the hard-working American farmer, of the struggle of students who work by night in order to pay for their university education. Seldom do the moving pictures depict the life of the typical American family—nights at home, the struggle to pay the bills, dad attending his union meeting, and the various activities of the family group.

I have talked about this problem of Hollywood movies to many of our officials in Asia. They generally agree that one of the best friends of world communism in Asia is a Hollywood that floods Asia with race-supremacy, materialistic, we-have-a-lot-of-wealth movies.

Yet the end of the conversation is always the same: "What can we do? If the Government of the United States raises a word of protest, Hollywood screams that it is trying to meddle with free enterprise. If the Government even suggests that there be some control over the export of American films, Hollywood would scream 'censorship' and too many of our people would be ready to agree."



Nevertheless, in this grim, total war that the Soviet Union is waging against the democratic way of life, we cannot permit one weapon, one grain of powder, to fall into enemy hands. So long as we tolerate a Hollywood that exports intellectual atomic bombs and cultural stink-bombs, just so long do we continue to earn in Asia the dislike for the white American so evident in many countries.

In the interest of the decent people in this country—and they are the real America—we have to raise a cry sufficient to warn Hollywood that we resent its selling Uncle Sam short in Asia. We have to ask Hollywood to impose its own censorship in the interest of giving Asia a fair and reasonable picture of America. We can't expect Hollywood to start making movies that are as doctored up and phony as the Soviet products. But we can demand that Hollywood give Asia a true picture of America at work and at play, America in church and on the farm, America at home and in politics.

If Hollywood can't or won't police its own exports of American films, then I think it is only reasonable that the people should demand that their Government take appropriate action to license the export of American films in order to ensure that every group of movies exported to Asia provides a fair and reasonably decent picture of America to the masses of Asia. For the intellectuals and the people of Asia will continue to hold fantastic and distorted pictures of America as long as they see fantastic and distorted dramatizations of life in these United States. And few Asiatics know anything of us except what they see in movies.

One hopes that Hollywood will find the moral courage to clean house of its own volition. But if Hollywood doesn't act within a reasonable time, the Federal Government and the Congress of the United States should take summary action to rectify an extremely dangerous situation. Let's give Asia the truth about America.

The Los Angeles Natural Law Institute

Norman Elliott

JUSTICE BENJAMIN CARDOZO, in *The Nature of the Judicial Process*, accurately although perhaps unknowingly highlighted the basic deficiency of the prevailing American legal philosophy:

What really matters is this, that the judge is under a duty, within the limits of his power of innovation, to maintain a relation between law and morals, between the precepts of jurisprudence and those of reason and good conscience.

As Rev. David C. Bayne, S.J., pointed out in his article on the 1949 Notre Dame Natural Law Institute (AM., 1/14/50), the prevailing teaching of America's political and legal philosophers is essentially positivistic. This teaching denies that there is a moral law, inherent in human nature, to which, to be valid, all man-made laws must conform.

Moreover, as a direct result of this "realistic" conception of jurisprudence, our courts have increasingly shown a tendency to view the state as the unchallengeable authority. Apparently the kinship of legal positivism to totalitarianism has not troubled its proponents. The positivists would have us ignore the great debt of American constitutional law to natural-law concepts and adopt the more "progressive" view that there are no absolute ethical limits to the state's power.

Fortunately, although the positivists assert that the "best thinkers" have discarded the "archaic" concepts of the natural law, this is not true. During the last twenty years many outstanding jurists and political theorists have realized that the philosophical road they were traveling led to moral bankruptcy, and have retraced their steps. The popularity of the works of Jacques Maritain, Heinrich Rommen, C. G. Haines and other natural-law writers attests this intellectual reawakening. Such eminent scholars and lawyers as Dr. Edward S. Corwin, former McCormick Professor of Jurisprudence at Princeton University, Clarence E. Manion, dean of the Law School at the University of Notre Dame, and Harold R. McKinnon, prominent member of the San Francisco bar, have effectively pleaded the natural-law case in legal periodicals.

Thus, the change in the legal philosophy underlying our judicial system has not gone unnoticed. However, the lawyer, the educator and the man in the street must be shown that the outward trappings of liberty are meaningless if the substance of our liberty is being denied in our legal philosophy. As Harold R. McKinnon has so aptly put it:

... Against the teaching I have described [positivism] democracy as a mere mechanism is no protection... Ideas must be overcome by ideas.

The duty of the Catholic lawyer is therefore plain. It is to reiterate the doctrines upon which America

was founded and upon which alone justice and liberty may be based.

Under these circumstances, the First Natural Law Institute at Notre Dame was watched with interest by Catholics throughout America. When the Institute published a record of its proceedings and was able to translate its ideal of an annual meeting into reality, thinking Catholics hailed its achievement. However, although the Notre Dame Institute aroused great interest, doubts were expressed about the practicality of using such a technique widely in reviving interest in natural-law concepts.

With this background, the First Natural Law Institute of Los Angeles was held at the Biltmore Hotel on October 19, 1950. Its purpose was to re-examine the core of the natural-law doctrine and to foster the common recognition of the moral foundation of law. Both Catholics and non-Catholics were enthusiastic participants. This was doubly encouraging since many of these men had previously conceived the natural law to be a medieval abstraction or a legal utopia impossible of achievement.

Although the idea of such an Institute originated with a group of lawyers and judges, it could never have materialized without the firm support and encouragement of the Most Reverend J. Francis A. McIntyre, Archbishop of Los Angeles. His Excellency sent personal invitations to the leading lawyers, doctors and businessmen of the community, thus contributing materially to the Institute's success. Reverend Joseph Donovan, S.J., alert Regent of the College of Law of Loyola University of Los Angeles, who officially sponsored the Institute, demonstrated again the willingness of Catholic colleges to meet their civic responsibilities.

The Institute was exceptionally fortunate in obtaining an outstanding legal scholar, Dr. Roscoe Pound, as one of its speakers. Although he is at present a visiting professor at the University of California at Los Angeles, Dr. Pound is best known for the many years he spent as Dean of the Harvard Law School. His fame as a legal philosopher and scholar needs no elaboration here.

Although Dean Pound recalled some of his early writings in which he criticized the natural law, he smilingly confessed that he had subsequently modified his views. He emphasized the belief that the moral law must be the foundation of a stable legal system, and deplored the extreme position of Justice Holmes and his followers. In a speech admittedly focused upon the practical aspects of jurisprudence, Dr. Pound traced the attempt of seventeenth-, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century thinkers to throw the whole burden of law upon reason alone. His thesis was that the rise of positivism was primarily due to

Norman Elliott, graduate of the University of Southern California and a practising lawyer, has frequently contributed items of professional interest to the Southern California Law Review.

this attempt to exclude experience from the dynamic growth of the law. On the other hand, he continued, the positivists went too far in holding, with the late Justice Oliver W. Holmes, that the life of the law is not logic, but experience. This is a denial of the basic principles of our democratic form of government. Dr. Pound's conception of the ideal legal system is one founded upon moral principles and guided by reason, but shaped by practical experience in the give-and-take of legislation and lawsuits. Although he did not characterize this dynamic conception as St. Thomas' "practical reason" applying natural law, in essence this is precisely what it amounts to.

Whereas Dr. Pound may be defined as a scholar who has modified his philosophy to the point where he is in substantial accord with the proponents of natural law, Harold R. McKinnon has consistently written and spoken in favor of a revival of natural-law concepts. He is regarded by many scholars as the ablest lay spokesman for the natural law in America. Mr. McKinnon stressed the fact that positivism is indistinguishable, in its origin and logical effect, from philosophies which characterized lands against which we have just fought the bloodiest war in history.

However, despite his able exposure of the logical and historical bases of positivism, Mr. McKinnon's most concrete contribution to the Institute lay in his discussion of definitions and terminology to be used in reintegrating natural-law concepts into our legal philosophy. He conceived the household of the law to be a three-story edifice of principles, precepts and rules. Principles, he explained, should be the foundation of law, but are too general to be applied directly to fact situations. Actually, such principles as "Seek the common good" prescribe the ends of justice; they do not prescribe the means. First among these means are precepts which are drawn from these first principles and are generally recognized throughout the world. Examples are: one may not kill; one may not steal, etc. However, like the principles in which they are rooted, these precepts are also too general to serve as norms of action in specific cases. The reason is that they constitute the means of justice in a general or universal sense; what is needed is a rule of application to bring such a precept to bear upon the concrete facts of a given case. These latter man-made rules, he continued, are the positive laws with which lawyers and the judges deal.

Dr. J. A. C. Grant, Dean of the Division of Social Studies at the University of California at Los Angeles, and Judge John J. Ford of the Superior Court of Los Angeles, also delivered scholarly addresses.

The success of the Los Angeles Institute is heartening and at the same time is a continuing challenge. It is heartening to find legal scholars of the stature of Dean Pound who will affirm the basic necessity of a moral-law foundation for positive law. It is heartening to find two hundred and fifty professional men and businessmen who will attend such an Institute and derive great benefit from it. And the reactions of these

men show American Catholics that the time is ripe to spread the eminently logical doctrines of the natural law throughout the nation.

It is the firm conviction of this writer, after participating in the Los Angeles Institute, that by means of similar institutes, sponsored by Catholic law schools and lawyers, we may look forward to a true resurgence of the natural law in American legal thought.

Canadians prepare their defenses

James Montagnes

CANADIANS ARE REARMING in a big way, for a nation of less than 14 million persons. This year, a third of the national budget is being spent, not only on getting Canada's own defense forces into shape, but also in training men of the North Atlantic Treaty nations, supplying these countries with armaments, and contributing a naval task force and air transport to the United Nations forces in Korea.

Canada in its current fiscal year, ending March 31, 1951, will spend close to a billion dollars on defense needs. This is a far greater amount than Canada spent on its entire annual budget in the days preceding World War II. The total budget this year for all Canada's governmental requirements is about \$2 billion.

When the Korean war began, Canadians found that they were not immediately able to contribute either soldiers or airmen to the UN forces. But the Royal Canadian Navy was at once placed at the disposal of the United Nations, and a task force of destroyers, biggest ships in Canada's navy, was dispatched to Japan for use in Korean waters. They have played their part in the naval landings and naval attacks on coastal points. In lieu of an air force, Canada sent a fleet of four-engined transports, and these have been ferrying personnel and supplies from Vancouver to the Korean war zone.

A special session of Parliament was called at Ottawa in August to allot additional defense money to the Government and also to establish a special United Nations army force of 10,000 officers and men for use wherever necessary. This force was dispatched to Korea in November.

At the recent special session of Parliament, Canada's 1950 armament budget of \$425 million was more than doubled to cover increased Canadian undertakings and to enable Canada to send equipment, valued at

James Montagnes, resident of Toronto, Canada, is a writer who has been free-lancing for American publications since 1928.

s ripe
atural
artici-
ans of
chools
rgence

ay, for
year, a
t only
shape,
Treaty
ments,
nsport

ch 31,
efense
spent
ceding
for all
\$2 bil-

d that
either
Royal
sposal
royers,
ed to
played
eks on
sent a
been
ver to

ttawa
o the
United
or use
ed to

ada's
than
ings
ed at
, is a
pub-

\$300 million, to the North Atlantic Treaty nations. To take care of immediate defense construction and orders, an additional appropriation of almost half a billion dollars was made. Taxes were increased to pay for the extra expenditures. Since the close of World War II Canada has budgeted for a surplus and has been able to achieve this by maintaining much higher income taxes than prior to 1939. To provide for new defense costs, corporate income taxes and excise taxes on many commodities were increased, and an intimation was made that early in 1951 personal income taxes would also go up.

Industrially, as well as financially, Canada is doing, and will do, its part. During both World Wars Canada built up its industrial machine; so that the potential capacity of Canadian industry to produce war equipment today is twice what it was in 1939. No less an authority than Canadian Defense Minister Brooke Claxton has stated recently that "Canadian plants can make any kind of military equipment." During World War II days, Canadian industry demonstrated this by building its first destroyers, tanks and four-engined bombers, as well as munitions and guns of all types.

Canada and the United States are working closely together in the matter of rearmament. Canada is placing orders for some equipment in the United States, and the United States has begun to place orders for some war materials in the Dominion. Recently a \$10-million order for naval guns was placed with a Canadian ship-building plant, which also has orders for similar guns from the Canadian Government. The Canadian automobile industry, subsidiary of the U. S. auto industry, is getting ready to make U. S.-type motor equipment for the Canadian armed forces.

Canadian industry is now rapidly gearing itself to war production, and will be able to handle orders for many items of armament needed by the U. S. services. Much work has been done since 1944 to standardize equipment and industrial material between the United States and Canada. An outstanding example is the standardizing of gauges of nuts, bolts and screws, an important factor in mass assembly and repair of equipment. And Canadian forces have for some years been using equipment interchangeable with that of the United States to allow of fast integration of forces and production of materials. Motorized equipment, for example, which early in World War II was largely built on British standards, was switched to American types and is now permanently on American standards.

While details on all Canada's defense orders are not released, it is known that the Dominion is building both American and Canadian-designed jet aircraft. The American planes are being built at Montreal, and the Canadian-designed jets at Toronto. It is expected that orders for the Canadian jet two-seater will be received from the United States and possibly Great Britain. A Canadian-designed postwar training plane is now being built in England for the British air force.

American-designed troop carriers are also to be built in Canada, and transports are already being built at Montreal. Meanwhile four-engined bombers built at Toronto during the last war are being taken out of storage and made ready for operations.

Very large orders for radar and radio equipment have been placed by Ottawa with Canadian companies, mostly subsidiaries of American concerns. Mine sweepers and anti-submarine ships are being built in Canadian naval yards, and all naval vessels and armaments now in storage are being put into operational condition. Ottawa is ready to place a big order for jeeps and trucks of American design with Canadian motor-car manufacturers. Defense research in ballistics, explosives, aerodynamics, cold-weather operation of aircraft, aviation medicine and other subjects has been stepped up. Canadian defense authorities have benefited from research expeditions held jointly with U. S. forces in the Canadian Arctic during the past few winters.

Canadian stockpiles of British-designed equipment and weapons are now being turned over to the North Atlantic Treaty countries as the Dominion's contribution to mutual defense.



Air crews from North Atlantic Treaty countries are already being trained in Canada. Airmen from France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Norway and Italy are now in Canada, and British airmen will be coming for training early next year. During World War II, Canada was the training base for airmen and soldiers from half a dozen Allied lands.

In terms of its own military manpower, Canada's preparations are also well under way. Its three armed services, already well over their pre-1939 strength, are being boosted in numbers, and by the end of this year will total 70,000 officers and men. Recruiting is going ahead on a voluntary basis. There is as yet no serious thought of conscription, the flow of recruits being considered sufficient for present needs. This recruiting is in addition to the force of 10,000 men for the United Nations. The reserve forces in Canada, who train on a frequent schedule, total about 50,000 officers and men.

While figures for Canadian defense expenditures and manpower do not appear very large, Canadians feel that on a per-capita basis they are doing as well as their larger neighbor to the south. Canada's population is about one-eleventh that of the United States and is spread thinly over a large area. The Dominion has to maintain its own defenses on both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, as well as in the far north, where the United States also has forces stationed at strategic points. The people of Canada feel that they are playing their part in the defense of the West and Western civilization.

Roy Campbell: soldier-poet

Neville Braybrooke

IT IS A COLD, clear, crystalline morning; the field is covered by snow. From a barren branch a solitary rook caws and flies into the dawn's first light, tracing with its wings a path across the sky. There is a shot and, beside a glassy stream, pierced through the heart, a feathered body lies: like crimson roses, a few drops of blood glisten in the whiteness.

In terms of the countryside it is some such picture which Roy Campbell's poetry conjures up—but it is a picture of the mind. For Campbell is essentially a colonial poet and it is of African and Spanish landscapes that he writes. Yet to admit this is in no way to restrict the universal appeal of his poems: it is merely to place them in their historical setting.

Campbell's satires and poems are complementary to each other: read together they show a steady development. His lyrics and his narrative poems are his lines of defense, while his limericks and long satires form his lines of attack. This military metaphor is particularly apt, because there is much of the soldier in Campbell.

In his autobiography, *Broken Record* (1934), Campbell writes:

A military life in peacetime is admirable for a poet: it has all the leisure for meditation and true comradeship of the monastic life without the celibacy. The places where the best and gayest comradeship exists are, curiously enough, among garrisons of killers, and where the most venomous hatred exists is Geneva among the olive-branches and the turtle doves of disarmament.

A few pages earlier, Campbell diagnoses why this is so: A peace, in school history, is a mere gap, and the "events," the matter of history, are the negative and destructive events. Since this destructive part of history has been allowed to predominate over the creative part in the minds of children at school, and become fixed in their grown minds, it has begun to triumph in modern life over the creative elements.

This is fundamental to an understanding of Campbell's attitude to life: in his work the two points of view are synchronized.

The Flaming Terrapin (1924) is about a legendary sea-beast. This sea-beast is bound by the anchor of the Ark, and not until it reaches the top of Ararat is it able, once and for all, to shake itself free of the anchor. Written in five parts, the poem abounds with military language: "Night is a Captain hustling up his stars" occurs towards the end, and there are numerous lines such as:

The loopholed sockets of his eyes betrayed
Their gun-like pupils,

or:

Hurled as by some huge fist across the haze
The Sun burst upward like a red grenade!

LITERATURE AND ARTS

("Grenade" is a favorite word with Campbell.) Although the fife and drum are uppermost in this poem, there are passages of a more dulcet harmony—of the guitar and tambourine. For Campbell is a lover as well as a soldier, and there are times in the poem when one finds these two qualities of strength and tenderness wedded:

... the mountain-streams
Kindle, and volleying with a thunder-stroke
Out of the roaring gullies, burst in smoke
To shred themselves as fine as women's hair
And hoop gay rainbows in the sunlit air.

The Flaming Terrapin was followed by *The Wayzgoose* (1928), an exposure of South Africa's literary cliques. Reading it more than twenty years later, it is surprising to find that it has not become dated, although many of those satirized in it have become mere footnotes. Indeed, this is true of most of Campbell's straight satires, though not of all those which appeared in *Talking Bronco* (1946). This is because Campbell's satire is strongest when it is not directly political—that is to say, when its shaft is aimed at the humbug, whether he be a Communist, a Conservative or a Republican.

Poets and writers are bound by deeper allegiances than those of party programs, and it is when a man is not being true to himself that poets must be loudest in their denunciation. It is then that satire becomes their sharpest rapier because it is tipped with truth; and it is on such occasions that Campbell is at his best—notably when he is parrying at literary bun-fights (as in *The Wayzgoose* and *The Georgiad*). Here, for instance, he is attacking nymphs of the novel, those pale blue naiads who will blurt confidences by hiding them so hard that all can see. Their attitude to life he demolishes in two lines, as they come forward

With pale blue spectacles and pale blue stays
And pale blue insight into human ways;

or again those fashionable literary lions, the patrons of the middling and the small, who

Encouraged more by numbers than by wit,
And by the wordy goddess urged to battle
Fight out their Bannockburns of tittle-tattle,
While truth in terror from the slaughter flies
And probability in anguish dies . . .

In *Adamastor* (1930) the satire and lyricism follow behind each other, and one finds the same sentiments recurring in each group. In his poem "To a Pet Cobra" we read:

I too can hiss the hair of men erect
Because my lips are venomous with truth

while, later in the book, in "Poets of Africa," there are these lines:

We shall grow terrible through fear
We shall grow venomous with truth.

In the second quotation the word "terrible," if used by another poet, might jar, seem a cliché. With Campbell it is otherwise, because all his poetry is charged with muscular vigor, but never with pure brute strength. His arrangement of words and the placing of lines is such that his power derives from what may be termed verbal ju-jitsu, or, one might put it this way: Campbell is a matador who knows exactly how far to go, and never confuses folly with daring.

Take, for example, this closing stanza of the poem "Tristan da Cunha" (the words are simple, mainly monosyllabic), and the meaning obvious, but it has a distinctive life of its own: in no sense is it a nineteenth-century closing verse:

We shall not meet again; over the wave
Our ways divide, and yours is straight and endless,
But mine is short and crooked to the grave:
Yet what of these dark crowds amid whose flow
I battle like a rock, aloof and friendless.
Are not their generations vague and endless?

The waves, the strides, the feet on which I go?

One is reminded of Marlowe and Rimbaud. The poem is a fusion of the swagger of good dramatic verse and the lilt of pure lyricism: only on the surface does it faintly resemble Victor Hugo's work. Yet Campbell has been accused of singing of only the surface of life and it is a charge which one must face. *Flowering Reeds* (1933) and *Mithraic Emblems* (1936) and *Talking Bronco* (1946), most critics feel, show no advance over the early volumes; they merely repeat the themes stated in his previous work.

To some extent this charge, I would submit, is connected with the fact that whereas Campbell fought for Franco during the Spanish Civil War, most of his contemporaries sided with the Republicans. At the time this resulted in Campbell's being heavily praised in the Catholic Press, but for reasons which were outside the realms of poetry. It was a case of "Catholic campaigning," and as detrimental to the cause of criticism as was the irresponsible adulation which was given by the other side to Auden and MacNeice. (Last year witnessed a similar confusion of poetry and politics when Ezra Pound was awarded the Bollingen Prize.)

In the 'thirties, however, to those who were still in their teens—such as myself—Spain appeared no more than a battlefield in which the first sortie had been made, a prolog to world war. Moreover, during those days there seemed a brutality about right-wing writing which had not marked the work of those who had stood for conservatism in the past—men such as Prince

Rupert, Dr. Johnson, Wellington, Newman and Disraeli. Again, it appeared that if a Franco victory appeared the lesser of two evils, it would none the less still be an evil. Although the Nationalists might be supported (especially when the Communists turned the Republican forces to their own advantage), we felt that such support should be limited to preventing a Nationalist defeat. It should not be given to bolstering up and maintaining a dictatorship.

I have stated this dilemma that some Catholics felt during the 'thirties, because it seems that for Campbell the Spanish Civil War was a clear-cut issue. Throughout it he fought as a soldier and, seen in perspective, the war would appear to have had only an indirect effect upon his work. *Flowering Reeds*, it is true, shows little advance either in thought or technique over *Adamastor*, its finest poem being "Choosing a Mast." On the other hand, both *Mithraic Emblems* and *Talking Bronco* show a deepening of what has gone before. They present something of a journey to the interior, whereas the previous books merely skirmish the ground. In the later poetry, St. John of the Cross comes very much to the fore. "Morning" shows such an effect:

The Woods have caught the singing flame
in live bouquets of loveliest hue—
the scarlet fink, the chook, the sprew,
that seem to call me by my name.
Such friendship, understanding, truth,
this morning from its Master took
as if San Juan de la Cruz
had written it in his own book,
and went on reading it aloud
until his voice was half the awe
with which this loneliness is loud,
and every word were what I saw
live, shine or suffer in that Ray
whose only shadow is our day.

The poetry is still that of a soldier and a lover, but it is a poetry of duality. In it one finds something of the spiritual soldiership of St. Ignatius ("the Solar Christ"), and on another level it blends the physical with the spiritual, as does St. John of the Cross ("he crucifies his heart upon his lyre").

Roy Campbell's poetry, one concludes, is born of neither *Angst* nor social realism. It is poetry born of love and hate and imagination: it is poetry of the ever-present because its spiritual content transcends both time and period. And sometimes, towards evening, one conjures pictures in the mind. One wonders what would happen if this Don Quixote among poets came galloping to the field of snow in which a solitary rook was cawing. Would he find such a landscape beside the African prairie so very tame by comparison? Or would he find in the bird's death a theme comparable with the shot beast in "Hjalmar"? These are ideas with which one speculates, for ideas are of the spirit and have predominance over things. Then, pausing for a reply, one recalls the slamming of a fourth-form desk and, with it, an end-of-term examination goblet: "There is a special providence in the fall of a sparrow." For the Prince of Denmark, as for this lone rider, "the readiness is all."

End of the line

MAIN CURRENTS IN MODERN POLITICAL THOUGHT

By John H. Hallowell. Holt. 759p. \$6.75.

This volume traverses about the same ground as *Man and the State: Modern Political Ideals*, edited by Prof. William Eberstein (AM. 9/25/48, p. 574). Both cover political writings from the Renaissance to the present.

Prof. Hallowell of Duke University's department of political science follows quite a different method, however. This is not an anthology. The author has analyzed the philosophical—and, one might say, the theological—positions of nearly all of the most prominent writers who have applied their theories to the state. He quotes liberally from their writings and from scholars whose critical evaluations he believes to be valid.

By all odds the most important contribution of Dr. Hallowell is that he upholds Christian standards and unequivocally confronts the "big names" with these standards. The tragedy of Western culture—its apostasy from the Christian truth about the origin, nature and destiny of human beings—is unfolded, author by author, until we reach the brink of catastrophe and today's spiritual confusion and despair.

For more than four centuries our leading thinkers and writers have been traveling further and further down the wrong road. Dr. Hallowell's purpose is to spotlight the successive stages in this downhill course and to recall his readers to belief in God, in natural rights, in natural-law standards of justice and truth, and in the necessity of personal repentance and reform as the bases of mankind's salvation.

He does this by tracing, first, the progressive degradation of *liberalism*. From its peak in the Age of Enlightenment it descended, through Rousseau and others, into the earth-bound theories of *utilitarianism*, *positivism* and *historicism*. The study of civil law, "liberated" from its moorings in divine and natural law, has terminated in the modern theories, however labeled, which *empty state law of all moral content and reduce it to the systematic application of force*, for whatever purposes appeal to judges, legislatures, dictators and even popular majorities. This is the end of the line, the ultimate "treason of the intellectuals." They have left mankind so completely "unshackled by dogma," so radically dislodged from the "tyranny of authority," that people no longer have any moral norms to appeal to in the face of the triumph of passion and power over reason and right.

Then Dr. Hallowell carries the reader through the career of *socialism* from its utopian beginnings, through its reduction to "scientific" terms by Marx and his followers, through their critics and modi-

fiers (in Germany, Great Britain and Russia), to the successful revolution and the governments of Lenin and Stalin. This section of 150 pages provides the information needed to understand the strength of Marxism in French labor unions, for which syndicalism paved the way; the brand of socialism which captured control of Great Britain; and the kind which musters a large following today in Germany, Belgium and Italy. It should be noted, however, that the author does not deal with concrete political, social and economic developments, but only with the ideologies involved.

The section on the "Revolution of Nihilism" shows how political philosophers adopted *irrationality* as a system of thought, and how this combined with nationalism and racism to produce Hitler's National Socialism and Mussolini's Fascism. Il Duce, Der Fuehrer and "the Great Stalin" seem to be natural products of a culture which turned its back on God and His truth and justice.

The author sketches, briefly but well, the social teachings of "liberal" Protestantism, of Protestant "neo-orthodoxy" (though in this case on a mostly speculative plane), of Roman Catholicism and of Anglicanism. In view of the space he has devoted to unorthodox "isms" and his repeated insistence on Christian thought

BOOKS

to know the natural law, etc. He seems to have adopted a rather awkward combination of sixteenth-century Protestant theology and Thomist philosophy.

The treatise is very clear, well organized, well conceived and well written. The footnote references (in the back) show immense reading and provide a most useful bibliography. For scholarship, it could hardly be improved, although one wonders whether attention might not have been given to some first-class political writers (e.g., Suarez, and James Wilson of Pennsylvania) who have been passed over in favor of more conventional "classics." Western culture, after all, has produced some sanity in the last four centuries. ROBERT C. HARTNETT

Jaundiced appraisal

THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

By Max Lowenthal. William Sloane. 465p. \$4.50.

According to the write-up on the jacket, the author is a man of great devotion to his task, having studied the FBI for no less than fifteen years. In addition, he has held numerous positions of legal responsibility in and out of the Federal Government. With such a background, he should know that hostile critics ought to approach their nasty job with "clean hands."

Nevertheless, Mr. Lowenthal fails to inform us whether he gave the International Juridical Association permission to put him on its top committee. Surely, somewhere in the 465 pages of text and 84 pages of notes, Mr. Lowenthal could have found space to repudiate the IJA, if it had used his name falsely, or to explain why he had cooperated with it, in spite of the fact that it was, from the very outset, an unmistakably Communist front organization.

Mr. Lowenthal's opinion of the FBI may be summarized as follows: 1) Most of what the Bureau has done was bad. 2) The little good which it accomplished is not worth mentioning in this book. 3) Even when the Bureau does a good job, there is always danger that it will do wrong the next time. To correct the situation, three main remedies are proposed: 1) Greatly reduce the Bureau's appropriations. 2) Compel it to get more convictions for forgeries, auto thefts, and the like. 3) Throw open its files and records to congressional, and other, investigations.



and practice as the only way to avert catastrophe, however, it seems to me that he should have condensed elsewhere to leave himself more space to suggest the Christian solutions to the problems raised. One lays aside the volume wondering whether this is all Christians have to offer in the face of so towering a mountain of evil.

There is room here for only one other criticism of what is surely, on the whole, a most admirable book. Dr. Hallowell several times commits himself to the Protestant doctrine of man's "corruption" by original sin (pp. 11, 20, 29). My own view is that this doctrine 1) itself gave rise, at least by reaction, to many of the pernicious ideologies whose viciousness he points out; 2) makes mankind's rehabilitation almost hopeless, since the unregenerate are all corrupt; and 3) does not seem to fit with Dr. Hallowell's own belief in the capacity of the human mind

No less than three-quarters of this large volume are devoted to the history of the Bureau from 1908 to 1924, when J. Edgar Hoover was only its assistant director. According to the author's inference, Mr. Hoover was assistant director of the Bureau during those years; therefore, he was responsible for all its decisions. Mr. Lowenthal's fifteen years' work on a character profile of Mr. Hoover reveals the latter as a low-grade Frankenstein monster—a creature who is at one and the same time dishonest, double-dealing, mendacious, egotistical, publicity-mad, wanting in courage, stupid, incompetent and strenuously obstructive. Mr. Lowenthal further implies that the majority of Congress over a period of forty-two years has also shown great stupidity in accepting Mr. Hoover's reports and in granting him the funds required to carry on the Bureau. How "objective" can an author get?

This reviewer does not intend to go to the other extreme of claiming that everything which Mr. Hoover did was ideal. The very nature of a confidential organization like the FBI exposes it to the dangers of inbreeding and restricted points of view. Such narrowness, however, can be compensated for by maintaining other investigative agencies of unquestioned loyalty to this country and, as far as possible, free from political pressures. As for the FBI itself, sharply-edited *Time* magazine not so long ago undertook to give it a most thorough scrutiny. Conclusion: while the FBI could become a threat to personal liberty, there is no evidence that it is doing so under the direction of J. Edgar Hoover.

Perhaps the only thing at which this "objective study" excels is verbal judo: no holds barred when attacking the FBI.

WILLIAM A. NOLAN

Longshoremen's plight

CRIME ON THE LABOR FRONT

By Malcolm Johnson. McGraw-Hill, 243p. \$3.50.

Preliminary statements emanating from the Senate Crime Investigation Committee seem to indicate that criminal activities have succeeded in infiltrating some lines of legitimate business. That they have plagued labor unions in the past and are still continuing to do so in some instances today is brought out forcefully in the volume under review. Mr. Johnson, who received the Pulitzer Prize for most distinguished local reporting in 1948, when he published a series of articles on the conditions on the New York waterfront in the defunct *New York Sun*, writes in the best traditions of American journalism. His presentation is full of carefully checked facts, pulls no punches and leaves the reader deeply disturbed about

those situations of malpractice and crime which in the case of the Port of New York have not been remedied.

The author takes great pain to point out that "for every crime-wrecked union there are innumerable honest and constructive ones." His book cannot possibly be construed as an indictment of the American labor movement as a whole, and it must be stressed also that the cases related in Chapters 2, 3 and 4—the Hollywood shakedown, the Scalise case and the Fay-Bove extortion racket in the building trades—were exposed years ago and the main culprits brought to justice.

The greater part of the volume is taken up with a detailed report on the conditions on the New York waterfront. In fact, these sections of the book are so important that one is inclined to regret that the author did not confine himself to a discussion of this problem and dedicate a full volume to its description and analysis.

Never have the ugly facts of racketeering in the Port of New York been presented so fully and with such devastating cumulative effect. This does not mean, however, that there was not, prior to the appearance of the series in the *Sun*, a fairly common knowledge of the ill effects of the "shape-up," of the prevalence of loan-sharking, kick-backs, union dictatorship, and of the plight of the overwhelming majority of the longshoremen. On the contrary, the single most disturbing fact about this situation is that the conditions are widely known and that somehow nothing is being done about them.

The ills of the "shape-up" and the advantages of the hiring hall have been discussed at great length by Msgr. E. Swanson in *The Waterfront Labor Problem*, a book which is known to all interested in improving conditions in the Port of New York. No wonder, then, that Johnson suggests as the main remedy the establishment of a hiring-hall system. Quite apart from the question of certain difficulties created by the Taft-Hartley Act, it has seemed to this reviewer all along that a fundamental cure would have to consider means of reducing the surplus labor supply at the docks. While Johnson realizes this condition, he seems to this reviewer to be somewhat too optimistic about the hiring hall.

The one bright spot in this dark picture is Johnson's chapter on "Priests on the Waterfront." Here high tribute is paid to the "Xavier Labor School" headed by Father Philip Carey, S.J. Also given are quotations from an address of Father John Corridan, S.J., on "A Catholic looks at the waterfront," which should be included in any anthology of contemporary Catholic statements on social questions. As Johnson points out, the priests interested in bettering the lot of the longshoremen and in combatting racketeering and crime on the waterfront are not discour-

aged; they have great faith in the ultimate victory of the better element. Yet this valiant band is waging an almost single-handed fight. The publication of Johnson's book will end all alibis. From now on, continued complacency and inertia on the part of all involved in this situation directly or morally will be a serious act of omission. FRIEDRICH BAERWALD

EAST IS HOME

By Santha Rama Rau. Harper. 303p. \$3. A writer who starts out by describing, from a few months' acquaintance, a country and people you have known for many years inevitably challenges your exacting scrutiny. This is to report that Santha Rama Rau, Brahmin-born in India, graduate of Wellesley, and now traveler in Asia, completely won my respect for accuracy in reporting and sensitivity in recording.

Japan, Shanghai, Indo-China have been familiar to me for thirty-odd years. Coincidentally, some of the persons of whom she writes I have known for many years, too. On the basis of checking against the known, I am ready to accept her report of Lanchow and Chinghai—places I have never been and would just as soon not be sent to at present—or Bali, which sounds like an anteroom of Paradise.

This is not a Pearl Buck story about peasants, nor a Harry Franck travelog. It is unique in that its author is the daughter of India's first native Ambassador to Japan, and niece of India's permanent representative at the United Nations and delegate to the Security Council. She also was educated in England until she was sixteen, and later came to Wellesley.

With all Asia looking expectantly at India as first of the colonial empires to achieve independence, a daughter of the Rau family inevitably had great prestige wherever she went. This must be remembered, in reading her sketches of Asiatic people, whom she invariably found charming, friendly, hospitable. Being who she was, she would hardly have met the more undesirable characters in the various countries.

This is not said in criticism; rather it explains how it is that Santha Rama Rau is in a position to give to Western readers intimate portraits of the finest type of Orientals in several countries—the kind of people the average American tourist never meets. Her command of languages and her own background enabled her to appreciate and convey to others the esthetic beauties of Asian cultures. With a poker-faced deftness worthy of Will Rogers, she slips in Asian comments, shafts that sink home on reflection.

For example: "If you will forgive me," Alit (of Bali) said politely, "in the West you cannot understand your own art because your artists are always the people

who cannot fit normally into their society." "So," Alit continued very gently, "is it not the art of frustration? To produce art, or to appreciate it, should be the normal function of a man in a normal society. It should be part of one's daily living."

Or, when you have digested that deep saying, you, as an American, might meditate on this one for five minutes: "After all we are Asians" (said Kukrit of Siam), "and you should remember that, to many millions of us, the war in the Pacific was only the white man fighting the colored."

There is the underlying theme of *East Is Home*: an Indian woman trying to tell her white brothers and sisters how passionately the people of Asia want their independence to live their own lives, in their own ways, with their own customs.

"Even if the white man is prepared to relinquish other superiorities, he still feels his way of living is better and he will force or cajole us into learning it," said the village radical in Bali.

"Don't you," the American asked uncertainly, "need technology, medicine—?"

"Don't you," Anak Agung Anom said, "think of anything besides making your bodies more comfortable?"

DOROTHY WAYMAN

ALL THINGS COMMON

By Claire Huchet Bishop. Harper. 274p. \$3.

This is a study of the new communitarian movement as it is found in France, for the most part, but also in Holland, Belgium, Switzerland and Italy. The book is a report on the nature and operation of these so-called Communities of Work. In setting, some are urban, others rural. In relation to occupation, they include such widely different groups as watchmakers, farmers, dairymen, wine-makers and musicians. The community may consist of a half-dozen rural families or over a hundred factory workers and their families. Women and children play an integral part in the organization of the communities. Unlike many utopian experiments, this movement takes full advantage of modern machines and production methods.

The communities under discussion have been motivated by past suffering under

the capitalistic system rather than by the ideas of intellectual or religious apostles. Yet they have turned neither to communism nor to the reforms in the capitalistic system advocated by proponents of democracy. The members appear to be chiefly concerned over a capitalism which has dried up love of fellow man.

The accent among the Communities of Work is on working together for personal fulfillment and a fuller expression of the whole man. One of the more tangible of their objectives includes freedom for the worker within the job, more justice in distributing the fruits of work, the re-creation of a human community marked by collective concern rather than selfish individualism, the return of the idea of service and the abolition of the salary system. In the intimate grouping of families characteristic of these Communities of Work a sociologist might see a new primary-group relationship. At any rate, there is more intimate social contact here than there is to be found among the ordinary profit-sharing and cooperative units existing today.

The author points out that the communitarian movement will probably have little appeal for Americans at present. It does not spring from an attempt to put a theory into practice. "It comes from necessity, from suffering. . . . When our present American way of life becomes insufferable to us, then we will again take to the open road of the pioneers."

The fact that the author is a Catholic makes us feel that Communities of Work, of which she seems to approve, are consistent with Christian principles. Even so, one cannot but wonder at the observation that Catholics and Communists can live together in the intimacy of these communities without injury to the faith of either. Likewise, the reply to the question "Is the communitarian movement the way of avoiding communism?" would seem to demand a more detailed explanation than "It is not the way of avoiding anything. It is the way of creating something."

The author will be remembered for her *France Alive*, published in 1948. Since the present book is a "first report" on the sixty or more known communitarian units, it is to be hoped that she will write further on this interesting socio-economic movement. RAYMOND W. MURRAY

THE GREAT AUDIENCE

By Gilbert Seldes. Viking. 299p. \$3.75.

A classic study in the classic American mode of thinking, pragmatism, is here presented. Using this frame of reference, Gilbert Seldes—author of that earlier study in popular genres, *The Seven Lively Arts*—has applied himself to an unprecedentedly thorough, an occasionally brilliant, analysis of the popular arts in the United States: the movies, radio, television and comic books.

Mr. Seldes holds that because we live in a cruel and impatient world, "the temptation is great to use the diversions of the people for political ends." This stress creates one of the crucial problems of our time: whether to curb the free expression of popular art as an extravagance, to use the excuse that the managers of these means of expression have abused their freedom and that consequently the means themselves must be tailored to fit the exigencies of a political situation.

The body of *The Great Audience* examines the popular arts, their present state, and their future as it may be affected by this urgent problem. As Mr. Seldes disarmingly points out, he has put aside moral preoccupations and his "pleasure in individual programs or pictures, the purely esthetic interest, in order to concentrate on the effect of the entertainment arts in their mass." "We now see that judgment on the place of the popular arts cannot be left to the moral philosopher and the esthete, even if they should ever agree; a third judge must sit on the bench: the statesman."

In short, art is no longer—in this dreadful age of the Iron Man—to be judged primarily by esthetic rules. Art is no longer to be evaluated primarily by the profundity of its ideas as it probes beyond the shallows of literal meaning to the symbolic, the moral, and finally the mystical. For the world of 1950 such critical methods and biases lack that relevance seen now only in political and sociological criticism of art. If they will comprehend correctly the significance of television—that "Pandora's Box"—the critic and his audience must view it as a social phenomenon in the context of its environment.

Thus Mr. Seldes scrutinizes not only television but also the movies, radio and comic books as means of expression inevitably affecting all levels of American society. His analysis is, I think, fair, if not dispassionate.

But we differ with him, and radically, in his solution to the problem of free expression in popular art. The solution he proposes is Deweyan, as, for example, his justification of pressure groups in an analysis of "propaganda" movies such as *The Bells of St. Mary's*—art that is directly or indirectly the result of influence. Are we to take seriously his proposition that any pressure which may dominate a

EUROTOUR

TRAVEL by 8-passenger de luxe motorpullman
STAY in 1st Class Hotels EAT excellent food
English speaking Tour Conductors

Start tour at
MADRID—GENOVA—ROME—GENEVA—PARIS

From 25 days up—all inclusive, \$446.00

For full information—write or call

Viajes Melia, S. A.

17 E. 48th St., New York 17, N. Y.
Plaza 5-1127

BOOKINGS THROUGH AGENTS ONLY



\$3.75.

American reference, at earlier unprecedently brilliant arts in the radio, television

we live in the world, "the diversions of the gods." This problems the free expression, extravagance, managers of have abused evidently the power to fit situation.

Influence exerted present may be affected. As Mr. he has put this "pleasure pictures, in order to entertainment now see the popularity moral philosophy if they we must sit

his dreadfully be judged Art is no only by the forces beyond going to the mysticism critical relevance sociological comprehend televisionistic and his social phenomena environment

not only radio and television in American fair, if not

radically, of free expression he example, his steps in an such as it is direct influence. proposition dominate a

culture—provided it respects the "proper demands" of subordinate pressures—is "reasonable"? We cannot admit this underlying assumption of pragmatism as the solution to the problem of the mass arts. Mere density of intellectual life, mere richness of environment, will never mold a mature society of responsible persons, much less great works of popular art. It is a curiously stunted and stultifying view, this cultural relativism—and, in the light of moral and religious absolutes, inadequate even as sociological theory.

NICHOLAS JOOST

HOLLYWOOD, THE DREAM FACTORY

By Hortense Powdermaker. Little, Brown. 342p. \$3.50.

This one ought to keep the film industry's apologists busy through the long winter nights. These findings of a lady anthropologist, based largely on old issues of *Weekly Variety* and several months' field study in Hollywood, should provide a king's feast for those persons who like to regard the movie capital as a sort of junior-miss-size Sodom and Gomorrah.

The cumulative impression garnered by this reviewer was mostly perplexity: how is Hollywood able to produce as many pictures as it does (and some seem fairly good) in an atmosphere of such moral improvidence, creative mediocrity and executive senility?

The Hollywood of Dr. Powdermaker is submerged in a morass of discontent, mistrust and frustration. Producers have no respect for writers; writers hold producers in contempt; directors dislike writers. And all seem agreed on one point: actors as a group are beneath human notice ("... they are looked down upon as a kind of subhuman species. No one respects them").

Most of Dr. Powdermaker's findings are old hat—enticing or daring or shocking little clichés that have been flung at the industry for years—but the author repeats them with the startled air of a youth who has just discovered Schopenhauer. Some of the flat declarations would hardly pass muster, even among Hollywood's contemporaries. With a fine sense of book-sales showmanship, the author devotes considerable wordage to the "sex problem" in Hollywood, concluding that "sex relations flourish between the important people engaged in a production."

The author questions the effectiveness of the Legion of Decency and wonders why it has never occurred to the industry to fight it and other censor-groups. The industry's self-imposed Code is a charter of contradictions, she feels. One example troubled her, namely, why did Hollywood find it necessary to change the basic theme of *The Voice of the Turtle*, which she says is "a quite moral tale about two young people . . . whose love was based

on the principle of 'love them and leave them'?" She cites *Forever Amber* as significant of Hollywood's policy of appeasing rather than fighting the censors. She infers that the story should have been the same on the screen as in the book.

The anthropological Geiger counter that Dr. Powdermaker used in her Hollywood searches apparently was capable of detecting only negative substances. Not even the people in it deny that Hollywood has a shameful collection of basic ills, but if it were no better than Dr. Powdermaker seems to think it is, the industry would have become hopelessly inoperative a long time ago—and have deserved the fate, too.

PHIL KOURY

DEFENSE OF THE WEST

By Capt. B. H. Liddell Hart. Morrow. 335p. \$4.

Here is another good book by England's leading military critic. It takes up past, present and future, and tells how serious were the mistakes made by Allies and Axis alike in the recent war. Capt. Hart is not an enthusiast for conscripts or guerrillas, and he does not underrate the savage atomic bomb. He abhors such a formula as "unconditional surrender," spawned of an appalling lack of historical knowledge. The mad destruction of cities, according to the concepts of the Italian "prophet-general," Douhet, does not meet with the approval of Hart, or of other prominent analysts like Fuller, Nickerson and Baldwin.

On the organization of the Red Army, Capt. Hart is most interesting. He went to Germany after the last war and talked with the only real authorities on the Russian Steamroller (as we called it back in 1914)—that is, the German commanders who had worsted it, "lived" with it for years on end, and finally were flattened by it. This information is extremely timely, and the strange combination of day-before-yesterday and day-after-tomorrow, which constitutes the Soviet military might, is certainly worth serious study. To understand Russia, "one must believe the best one hears and also the worst."

The weakness of the book lies in its somewhat unrelated chapter sequence, which leave the impression that some parts were magazine chapters here tenuously hung together. There is a lack of continuity, some overlapping and repetition, and a combination of the too-technical and the too-easy and obvious.

One feels, quite definitely, that Hart does not care for Russia, or for the Russophiles who led the cheering in Anglo-America during 1941-45. All the same, Hart is no warmonger in the era of 1950, and he appears to urge slow going in the light of current conditions. He seems to sense that England is a bit too near to it all, and he does not underrate the enemy.

ROGER SHAW

KENEDY Christmas BOOKS

At all Catholic Bookstores

THE GLORIOUS ASSUMPTION OF THE MOTHER OF GOD

By Joseph Duhr, S.J.

This book begins with a general discussion of the theological principles governing the acceptance of a belief by the Church, and then applies these principles to the history of the development of the doctrine of the Assumption up to the present time.

A Selection of Catholic Book Club and Spiritual Book Associates \$2.25

THE MEANING OF FATIMA

By C. C. Martindale, S.J.

This book will satisfy a great many readers who would like to have many little questions about the message of Fatima resolved. The author, of course, needs no introduction. No matter what subject he applies himself to, the result is always entertaining and stimulating.

A Spiritual Book Associates Selection \$2.50

MADAME DE CHANTAL. The Life of Saint Jeanne Frances de Chantal

By H. J. Heagney

Father Heagney portrays interestingly and colorfully the life of Saint Jeanne Frances de Chantal, first as wife and mother, and then, in association with Saint Francis de Sales, as the founder of the Order of the Visitation.

\$3.50

A SPOILED PRIEST And Other Stories

An Anthology of Short Stories and Sketches from THE THINKERS DIGEST.

Edited by Sister Miriam
With an Introduction by N. Elizabeth Monroe
From the issues of the last ten years of the Digest, Sister Miriam has compiled an anthology of stories, each one of which is a gem of writing.

\$3.50

THE GOOD DUCHESS Joan of France

By Ann M. C. Forster

The subject of this biography was canonized a Saint on Pentecost Sunday of this year. After her marriage to Louis XII had been annulled on the grounds of being forced into it, Joan became Duchess of Berry and devoted her life to religion. In time she founded the cloistered Order of the Annunciation, becoming one of the professed nuns herself.

\$2.50

FAITH IN GOD'S LOVE

By Sister Jean-Baptiste, Sister of Providence
Translated from the French by Mary Paula Williamson and Mary Garrity

This book first takes the sublime thoughts of the spiritual life out of the realm of formula into practical simple language without losing theological accuracy, and secondly proposes a view of the spiritual life in the light of a conviction of God's love for each individual soul.

\$3.00

PORTRAIT OF SAINT GEMMA A Stigmatic

By Sister Saint Michael

Sister Saint Michael has arranged the writings of St. Gemma Galgani with a view to tracing the course of her spiritual growth, and interspersed them with connecting commentary to show her progress to complete union with God.

\$2.75

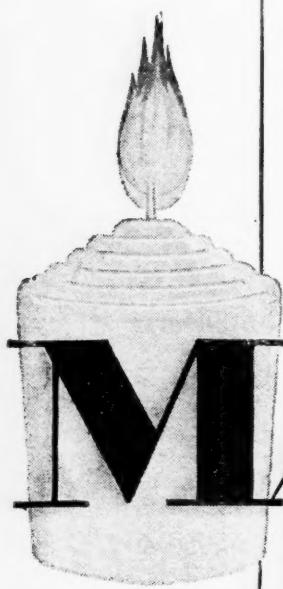
P. J. KENEDY & SONS

Publishers Since 1826

12 Barclay St. New York 8, N. Y.

Quality and service

Skilled craftsmanship
and trained representatives . . .
supported by
modern manufacturing methods,
prime materials, and careful management . . .
insure the delivery of quality
and service at *stable* and
outstanding values.



MACK-MILLER
CANDLE CO., INC., Syracuse 1, N. Y.

New York • Chicago • Boston • New Orleans • Los Angeles

THE WORD

"Is it Thy coming that was foretold," he asked, "or are we yet waiting for some other?" (Matt. 11:3, II Sunday of Advent).

I think if God wanted to save me from a street-corner accident He would see that there was a map store in the middle of the block before it. Maps fascinate me. I'm afraid it has nothing to do with love of adventure. There is just something about maps that pleases me—especially world maps. I feel as though I were perched on a faraway star examining our little planet.

That's how I happened to be in my favorite map store when they displayed their new gadget. It was a huge world map on some kind of frosted glass with the light coming from behind. The countries were in bright, healthy colors. But there were several large, black splotches on it. Russia and the iron-curtained countries were blackened in this way; and so were China, Indo-China, Korea and Tibet. There was a greyish pall over India and France and Germany and over parts of Africa and South America. You could get a good idea how the Communist plague was spreading all over the world. To me it was a little frightening because the whole map reminded me of an X-ray slide showing the progress of a malignant disease.

The demonstration clerk was chatting with an onlooker: ". . . gives you a nice comprehensive view of world disorder," he said.

"Yes," said Mr. Onlooker, "we'll need a genius to get us out of this mess." The clerk took on an attentive and thoughtful look, and Mr. Onlooker continued: "God will have to raise up a great international statesman to save the world from destruction. It is hard even to imagine a man as great and powerful, as courageous and unselfish as he will have to be."

As I moved away they were pessimistically discussing Generals MacArthur and Eisenhower as possible candidates for the job.

But I was already on another track. I was thinking about the message St. John the Baptist sent to Our Lord in this Sunday's gospel: "Is it Thy coming that was foretold," he asked, "or are we yet waiting for some other?" And Our Lord answered by pointing to the miracles He had worked in public. They proved He had divine power and was the Saviour of the world, not just at that time but for always. They proved He was the Leader the world needed then and still needs so very much today. In His subsequent life

and death He certainly proved He had all the courage and heroism, the unselfishness and devotion, the limitless fire of enthusiasm that could be needed to save any possible world.

Now I'm sure Mr. Onlooker was a good Christian gentleman. But he forgot about Christ. And perhaps we do too. Yet we have no more need than St. John the Baptist of "waiting for some other." The diseased splotches on our world map are not there because we lack leadership but because we are not following the Leader we already have. His great "other commandment" bade us love our neighbor as ourselves. The map is disfigured in just the places where that commandment has been most sadly forgotten.

And Christ has never really left His world. The Popes, His vicars upon earth, still speak with the Leader's voice in all those priceless practical applications of Our Lord's "other commandment"—the social encyclicals. These are the true directions to a better world.

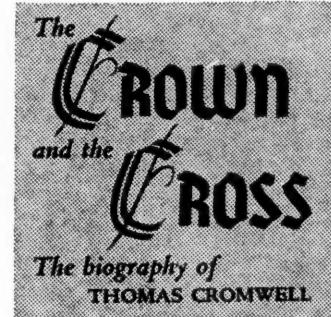
DANIEL FOGARTY, S.J.

FILMS

TWO WEEKS WITH LOVE sets forth in comic-nostalgic style another instance of the universal headache of adolescence: the problem of educating one's parents away from the delusion that one is still a child. The particular adolescent in this picture is a young lady (Jane Powell) only eleven months and a few days short of being eighteen, who is suffering through a family vacation at a resort quaintly known as Kissamee-in-the-Catskills, and being cruelly denied a gentler decade's symbols of maturity—long skirts, pinned-up hair and—most especially—corsets. Since Miss Powell tends to act more as though she were eleven months short of fifteen, it is easy to sympathize with her parents (Louis Calhern and Ann Harding) in their reluctance to regard her as an adult, and also to sympathize with Ricardo Montalban who, as the romantic attraction in the case, acts with the obvious discomfiture of a postgraduate student who has wandered by accident into the kindergarten class. However, the heroine's struggles toward emancipation and the picture's Technicolor bon-bon version of family life in general were not intended as anything more than a framework on which to hang a variety of musical-comedy high jinks performed by some energetic and attractive young people. On these terms the picture is pleasant enough family entertainment. (MGM)

LET'S DANCE is a Technicolor musical, the plot of which it is impossible to ig-

**The brilliant biography
of the man who held
Europe's destiny in his
hands for four bloody
decades**



by
THEODORE MAYNARD

*Author of the biography of
MOTHER CABRINI*

"In his book Maynard gives the reader, besides a careful biography of the man behind the English Reformation, a new insight into the many-faceted personality of Henry VIII and a colorful picture of Tudor England."

—Louisville Courier-Journal

"A magnificent subject for biography . . . well-written and easy to read."

—N. Y. Times Book Review

\$4.50

At all bookstores

McGRAW-HILL BOOK COMPANY, Inc.
New York 18

JUST PUBLISHED!

"The Concept of Ethics in the History of Economics"

by Joseph Francis Flubacher
Prof. of Economics, LaSalle College, Phila., Pa.
Member: American Economic Association
and the Catholic Economic Association

Francis J. Haas, Bishop
of Grand Rapids, says:

"It outlines the conclusions of ethicists, setting forth their judgments on economic life as it is and as they hold it should be. Both economic and ethical materials are presented with sureness and even with a certain charm."

55. At your bookseller's or direct from:
VANTAGE PRESS, INC.

230 West 41 Street, New York 18, N. Y.

BENZIGER BROTHERS, Inc.

U. S. A. Liturgical Editions



SEASONAL BREVIARIES

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 3 Vols.—4" x 6" | |
| Nativitatis et Epiphaniae Domini | |
| Majoris Hebdomadae | |
| Pentecostes et Ss. Corporis Christi | |
| Imitation leather, yellow edges..... | Per vol. \$4.50 |
| Leather, gold edges..... | Per vol. 6.00 |
| Red Morocco, gold edges..... | Set 30.00 |

THE ROMAN BREVIARY IN ENGLISH

| | |
|--|-----------------|
| Pocket Size 4 Vols.—4½" x 7"—With New Psalms | |
| A complete translation of the Breviary Romanum | |
| Imitation leather, red edges..... | Per vol. \$8.50 |
| Set of four 34.00 | |
| Sheepskin, gold edges..... | Per vol. 11.00 |
| Set of four 44.00 | |

RITUALE ROMANUM

| | |
|---|---------|
| With U.S.A. Supplement and New Rite of Confirmation. 654 pages. Size 4¾" x 7" | |
| Imitation leather, red edges..... | \$ 6.00 |
| American Morocco, gold edges..... | 8.00 |
| Turkey Morocco, gold edges..... | 10.00 |

BENZIGER BROTHERS, Inc.

Printers to the Holy Apostolic See
and the Sacred Congregation of Rites

6-8 Barclay Street, New York 8, N. Y.

Boston 11 Chicago 6 Cincinnati 1 San Francisco 3

FORDHAM UNIVERSITY

Founded in 1841—Conducted by the Jesuits

At Fordham Road, Bronx
New York 58, N. Y.

Fordham College of Arts & Sciences

New Freshman Class—February, 1951

Graduate School of Arts
and Sciences
College of Pharmacy
School of Business
Fordham Preparatory School

At 302 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.

City Hall Division

School of Law
School of Business
School of Education
School of Adult Education

At 134 East 39 St., New York 16, N. Y.

School of Social Service

Catalogues of Each School Sent on Request

more. *Adults'* enjoyment of it will depend entirely on how much they can put up with for the sake of watching Fred Astaire's magically expert dancing and Betty Hutton's highly specialized vocal gyrations. In between vaudeville turns the audience is asked to concern itself with a long-drawn-out child-custody squabble carried on between a bird-brained widowed night-club entertainer (Miss Hutton) and her snobbish Back Bay in-laws which fails to meet even the informal plausibility that is usually required of farce. With Mr. Astaire, as an irresponsible hoofer with an entirely erroneous conviction that he is a financial wizard, running interference for both sides in the squabble, the story limps its alternately slapstick and lachrymose way to its foregone conclusion without ever providing any justification for the presence in its cast of such gifted and seasoned performers as Lucille Watson and Roland Young. (Paramount)

WOMAN ON THE RUN is a chase melodrama with a new twist. Though the real fugitive is an erratic artist (Ross Elliott) who for somewhat obscure reasons goes into hiding after witnessing a murder, the pursuit centers around his half-estranged wife (Aan Sheridan). While the heroine is being followed by a lieutenant from the homicide squad (Robert Keith), a typically breezy and adhesive newspaper reporter (Dennis O'Keefe), and apparently also by the murderer, she is intent not only on finding her husband but in discovering what went wrong with her marriage. Surprisingly enough, she reaches some salutary conclusions and heads into the final reunion a sadder and wiser wife. The picture is not particularly plausible or exciting but is fairly good of its kind, and *adults* may find its wholesome attitude towards marriage a refreshing change from the irresponsibility too often glamorized on the screen. (Universal-International)

TRIPOLI is a plain, old-fashioned Technicolor Western despite the fact that its setting happens to be North Africa. The story takes its inspiration from the United States' early nineteenth-century campaign against the Barbary pirates, having about the same relationship to that particular incident in history as Buck Rogers has to the V-2 rocket. Among the standard features with which the plot comes equipped are several fabulous personal exploits by the hero (John Payne), some desert intrigue by a shifty-eyed Bedouin prince (Philip Reed), a bit of low comedy, a sand storm, a lot of hard riding in the wide open spaces and some incidental decoration furnished by a French countess (Maureen O'Hara) whose position is sufficiently dubious to place the obviously juvenile goings-on that characterize the picture otherwise, in an *adult* category. (Paramount) MOIRA WALSH

THEATRE

RING AROUND THE MOON, presented by Gilbert Miller in the Martin Beck, is a beautiful production which, while it is lovely to look at and sweet to the ear, is dramatically as obscure as the Empire State tower in a twilight fog. The playbill says it's a charade with music, written by Jean Anouilh and translated by Christopher Fry. A charade, the dictionary says, is an enigma; and anyone looking for the author's intention will find *Ring Around the Moon* a puzzle, but a beautiful puzzle.

An old theatre hand can quickly identify the comedy as another version of the Cinderella story, with trimmings. The play pivots on a double love story, and a few minutes before the final curtain both pairs of lovers are blissfully united. But the happy ending is too pat, the syrup is poured on too thick, leaving one with the feeling that the author is saying, with a condescending smirk: "This is the way you wanted it, isn't it?"

The story begins and ends in French high society in 1912. The central character is one Hugo, who invents a scheme to make his twin brother, Frederic, fall out of love with Diana Messerschmann, who is in love with Hugo, who loves himself. Hugo's scheme is more successful than he intended, and he eventually finds himself engaged to his brother's former fiancée. There is no significance in the double-barreled romance, except that it provides the author with an opportunity to arrange some effective scenes in which the characters express their ideas and emotions in torrents of eloquent dialog.

Since Mr. Fry, the translator, is, according to report, himself a man with a wonderful gift for words, a reviewer who has not consulted the original French script will hardly venture a guess as to whether the mellifluous of the English version is a true reflection of the French text. It really doesn't matter to anyone with a relish for musical prose. Too many American playwrights make a fetish of simplicity, sweating to write lines in one-syllable words and ten-word sentences or less. There is dignity and beauty in simple English, of course, so long as it is natural. When simplicity is forced, it loses both dignity and beauty and becomes stilted and florid.

There is no pretentious simplicity in Mr. Fry's translation. The characters discuss wealth, poverty, acknowledged and clandestine love, frustrated dreams and various other problems and mysteries of life. They express their opinions and feelings in a tumult of speech that conforms to their elevation of thought or emotional heat at the moment, lifting a trite story to the level of mature drama.

Raymond Sovey supervised the sets and lights, and the 1912 costumes were selected by Castillo. Mr. Miller directed, pacing the action a bit too fast for ear-comfort in the early scenes. Toward the end of the first act the directorial whip becomes less evident.

Of several fine performances, Stella Andrew, the pawn in Hugo's scheme to alienate his brother from an unsuitable fiancée, contributes the finest. Hers is the only role that demands variation of mood, and she manages the changes from submissive hireling to fiery rebel to understanding woman with casual ease.

Oscar Karlweis is good as the world-weary man of money, and Lucille Watson is better as a sophisticated socialite who rules her circle in the world of fashion from a wheelchair. Denholm Elliott is skillful as the twin brothers of opposite temperaments, while Francis Thompson is excellent as a perfect serving-man. Other roles are capably handled by too many names to mention. All of them contribute substantially to making Mr. Miller's production as beautiful as a Christmas tree.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

other way around, the love being for her fortune, the disdain for herself.

Shining full force during the week were the numerous facets through which human nature expresses itself. On view was the disposition to win good will in the field of public relations. . . . In Virginia, authorities discovered nailed to a tree near a moonshine still a sign reading: "Mash still. Drink all you want, but please don't carry it away." . . . The problems of modern youth were noted. . . . In Spokane, a mother, eighteen years old, sued for divorce, charging that her adolescent spouse deserted her in order to play half-back on a high-school team. . . . Music's power to bring human emotions to a boil was demonstrated. . . . In Watertown, N. Y., a man was so moved by a café juke-box recording of *Good Night, Irene*, that he cut his throat with a razor blade, had to have thirty stitches taken in the wound. . . . Man's reluctance to part with money was noticed. . . . A survey conducted by Aberdeen University, Scotland, showed that Scotsmen do not tell their wives how much they earn. . . . In Muncie, Ind., an ex-wife charged that her ex-husband sends her the court-ordered support payments on time, then waits for her outside the bank where she cashes the checks and snatches the money from her when she emerges. . . . The evil men can do was observed. . . . In Brunswick, Germany, the confessed murderer of nine women and one man declared: "Every man has his passion. One plays chess. Another plays cards. I kill people. I had a right to kill because my emotions demanded it."

The human motives emerging each week are of supreme importance. . . . This earthly life is a testing ground wherein God is ascertaining who are His friends and who are not. . . . His friends do the things He commands them to do. . . . His enemies are those who refuse to serve Him, who ignore Him, who live as though He did not exist. . . . This decision whether to serve God or not to serve Him has eternal consequences, because every human being freely decides where he will spend eternity—in heaven or in hell.

JOHN A. TOOMEY

NEVILLE BRAYBROOKE is director of the Phoenix Press, and Editor of the *Wind and the Rain*, a literary periodical published in London.

REV. WILLIAM A. NOLAN, S.J., teaches sociology in the Institute of Social Sciences, St. Louis University.

REV. RAYMOND W. MURRAY, C.S.C., is head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Notre Dame.

FRIEDRICH BAERWALD is Professor of Economics in the Graduate School of Fordham University.



A SAINT IN HYDE PARK

Memories of
Father Vincent McNabb, O.P.

By E. A. SIDERMAN

Among the many Catholic priests who have spoken for the Catholic Evidence Guild in London's Hyde Park, none was better known to a multitude of listeners than the late Father Vincent McNabb, O.P. He was a very talented man, known for his wit and lovable personality. As bizarre as it may seem, this book of memories was written by E. A. Siderman, the most persistent heckler Father McNabb ever had, to commemorate his great and unique personality. He has given a very fine portrayal of Father Vincent's character and his undeniable art of winning the souls of unbelievers. This account contains a wealth of anecdotes and pleasantries.

\$2.00

At your bookstore or from

The NEWMAN Press
Catholic Publishers
WESTMINSTER, MARYLAND

Looking for a Publisher?

Our basic policy is to encourage new authors. If you are looking for a publisher of your book, learn how we can help you. Send us your manuscript or write today for Free Booklet C.A.

VANTAGE PRESS, Inc., 230 W. 41 St., N. Y. 18
In California: Equitable Bldg., Hollywood



"Immensely funny . . . "

—Alfred Hayes,
N. Y. Herald Tribune Books

The wonderfully happy novel
of an Italian priest and his
battles with his townspeople.

THE Little World of Don Camillo

By GIOVANNI GUARESCHI

Book-of-the-Month Club Selection

At all bookstores, \$2.75

PELLEGRINI & CUDAHY • New York 14

FREE

CHRISTMAS
OFFER!

Information

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH
IN AMERICAN LIFE

FREE with every **FOUR**
Christmas Gift Subscriptions—

FIFTH Subscription **FREE**

at *Information*

5 gifts x \$2 each = \$8
Solve your Gift Problems

WRITE NOW

TO 403 West 59th St., N. Y. 19, N. Y.
A monthly magazine published
by the PAULIST FATHERS

St. John's School of Nursing Education

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

- Accredited three year school.
- Affiliation with QUINCY COLLEGE.
- Classes admitted in March and September.

For further information write to the Director

JOHN McCORMACK
DOMESTIC and IMPORTED
RECORDS

Catholic and Irish Records

Catalogue Mailed Free
on Request

Blarney Castle Products Co.

Box 102, Times Plaza Station
Brooklyn 17, N. Y.

NOTICES

12¢ per word. Payment with order.

MISSIONARY PRIEST struggling to build school;
85 Catholics in two counties of 85,000
population. PLEASE help us! Rev. Louis R.
Williamson, Hartsville, South Carolina.

THE GUILD BOOK SHOP, 117 E. 57th St., New
York 22, N. Y. Specializes in Catholic Books;
leather bindings for bibles, missals. Religious
art from Italy, Oberammergau and Bel-
gium. Christmas Cards. Catalog on request.

JESUIT HOME MISSION—My hope—a school
to plant the Catholic tradition. Small con-
tributions are precious and welcome. Rev.
John Risacher, S.J., Holy Cross Mission, Dur-
ham, North Carolina.

IRISH Books, Belleek China, Linens, Celtic
Crosses, Rosaries, Cards, etc. Write for Cata-
log. Irish Industries Depot, Inc., 876 Lexington
Ave., New York 21, N. Y.

CORRESPONDENCE

Christkindchen in Milwaukee

EDITOR: In the interests of getting Christmas and the Christ Child back together again, you might like to know of a Christmas custom that used to be practised, and still is, among some families of German descent in Milwaukee. Perhaps it is found elsewhere, too.

Santa Claus never entered into the picture. The afternoon before Christmas the children used to be banned from the room holding the Christmas tree. The Christ Child (*Christkindchen*) was in there, leaving presents. Then, that evening about supper time, the whole family would gather around the piano, with the crib on the top or close by, to sing a few Christmas hymns. (When my sister moved away, and she and her family were across the continent, we'd always add some prayers for them.) After that we'd go into the room with the Christmas tree to see what presents the Christ Child had brought.

Perhaps I should have said Santa Claus never entered the picture directly. He did come into the neighborhood discussions we used to have about who *really* brought the presents. I'll still hold out for *Christkindchen*, and I think that Santa, or rather, St. Nicholas, good saint that he is, would be glad to yield.

JOSEPH A. GRAU

St. Mary's, Kansas

One for St. Nicholas

EDITOR: Mrs. Eberhardt's timely plea (AM. 11/18) for returning Christmas to Christ was excellent because, among other virtues, it presented several *practical* suggestions on "how to do it," too often neglected in articles of this nature.

But I do think she was a little rough on Santa! After all, Santa didn't rout Jesukin from His poor crib—Herod did, and we did.

To our children, and to many others, Santa Claus is a spirit of Christmas, not the spirit. No one in our family ever sees Santa's gifts until after Christmas Mass and Holy Communion and a visit to the crib. But we *do* have Santa Claus—and love him.

Let us, indeed, restore Christmas to the Christ Child, Himself the greatest gift of all to mankind. But on Christmas Day it seems to me that there is room too for the spirit of St. Nicholas, that great representative of the practice of charity and giving on the part of human beings themselves.

DAVID VINCENT SHEEHAN

Marcellus, N. Y.

Concerning Martin Dies

EDITOR: The Rev. Benjamin L. Masse, in his article, "Is Congress 'framing' UEP?" (AM. 11/11, p. 159), does a very good job of answering Mr. McAvoy. I agree with him wholeheartedly except when he refers to Martin Dies as publicity-hungry. Were Senator Mundt, Rep. Nixon, Judge Medina and Assistant U.S. District Attorney Murphy publicity-hungry because they felt that communism was prevalent in important places, and saw the need of action?

I recall that the *Daily Worker* also made derogatory remarks about Martin Dies. If such interests as those represented by the *Worker* were against Martin Dies, should not a good American be for him? If it weren't for loyal Americans who were awake, such traitors as Coplon, Hiss and Wadleigh might still be roaming around loose.

PAUL FRAWLEY

Collegeville, Minn.

EDITOR: My answer to Mr. Frawley's first question is "No, not necessarily." Feeling that communism is prevalent in high places and seeing the need for action is not synonymous with being publicity-hungry. To his second question, I should like to answer with one of my own.

The *Daily Worker*, except for a brief period, waged all-out journalistic war against the late Adolf Hitler. Does that mean that I should have supported the Nazis? It would seem to, if Mr. Frawley's thinking is logical. A Catholic writer, I believe, ought to take his stand on principle, disregarding what others, for reasons of their own, may hold.

BENJAMIN L. MASSE

New York, N. Y.

Approval

EDITOR: This past year was my first with AMERICA. I can only say that I regret the years I was without it. I am a working gal with not much time for reading, as I am a life-insurance agent, which means evening calls. But a copy of AMERICA is always in the car with me. It gets read in every spare moment and over every cup of coffee.

I know you must get many letters praising the magazine, but I cannot let the opportunity pass without adding my "two cents worth." The magazine has become my main source of information on most controversial issues. I could cite many instances of dragging out back issues, but I will consider your time and just say—many thanks for AMERICA.

MARY L. LAMON

Los Angeles, Cal.